



33

DA 750.B2 N0 28



311880004528276

CALL No.

DA  
750  
B2  
no.28.

Turner, Sir James.

Memoirs of his own

life and times.

THE LIBRARY



UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Arts Division

[illegible]

34 09 06

84 08 07

88 01 06

87-1028

88 05 05

~~88-0316~~







1917

1917

1917

1917

1917

1917

**MEMOIRS**  
**OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES**

**BY SIR JAMES TURNER.**

**M.DC.XXXII.—M.DC.LXX.**

---

**FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.**

---

**PRINTED AT EDINBURGH.**

**M.DCCC.XXIX.**

THE LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

AT A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of MANAGEMENT  
of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on  
the 11th day of June, 1828.

IT having been stated to the Meeting by the Vice-President, that  
"THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER," from an original Manuscript in the possession of David Constable, Esq. Advocate, were in preparation for the press, it was

RESOLVED, That One Hundred Copies of the Work should be purchased for the use of the Club.

DAVID LAING, *Secretary.*



# THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BARONET,

[PRESIDENT.]

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM ADAM, LORD CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE JURY COURT.

SIR WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT, BART.

5 JAMES BALLANTYNE, ESQ.

SIR WILLIAM MACLEOD BANNATYNE.

LORD BELHAVEN AND STENTON.

GEORGE JOSEPH BELL, ESQ.

ROBERT BELL, ESQ.

10 WILLIAM BELL, ESQ.

JOHN BORTHWICK, ESQ.

WILLIAM BLAIR, ESQ.

REV. PHILIP BLISS, D.C.L.

GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

15 THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY.

JOHN CALEY, ESQ.

JAMES CAMPBELL, ESQ.

HON. JOHN CLERK, LORD ELDIN.

WILLIAM CLERK, ESQ.

## **THE BANNATYNE CLUB.**

---

- 20 HENRY COCKBURN, ESQ.  
DAVID CONSTABLE, ESQ.  
ANDREW COVENTRY, ESQ.  
JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.  
WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.
- 25 HON. GEORGE CRANSTOUN, LORD COREHOUSE.  
THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.  
JAMES DENNISTON, ESQ.  
ROBERT DUNDAS, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DUNDAS, LORD CLERK  
REGISTER.
- 30 HENRY ELLIS, ESQ.  
CHARLES FERGUSON, ESQ.  
ROBERT FERGUSON, ESQ.  
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RONALD C. FERGUSON.  
THE COUNT DE FLAHAULT.
- 35 HON. JOHN FULLERTON, LORD FULLERTON.  
LORD GLENORCHY.  
THE DUKE OF GORDON.  
WILLIAM GOTT, ESQ.  
SIR JAMES R. G. GRAHAM, BART.
- 40 ROBERT GRAHAM, ESQ.  
LORD GRAY.  
RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.  
THE EARL OF HADDINGTON.  
THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND BRANDON.
- 45 E. W. A. DRUMMOND HAY, ESQ.  
JAMES M. HOG, ESQ.



## THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

---

- JOHN HOPE, ESQ. SOLICITOR-GENERAL.  
COSMO INNES, ESQ.  
DAVID IRVING, LL.D.
- 50 JAMES IVORY, ESQ.  
REV. JOHN JAMIESON, D.D.  
ROBERT JAMESON, ESQ.  
SIR HENRY JARDINE.  
FRANCIS JEFFREY, ESQ.
- 55 JAMES KEAY, ESQ.  
JOHN G. KINNEAR, ESQ.  
THOMAS KINNEAR, ESQ. [TREASURER.]  
THE EARL OF KINNOULL.  
DAVID LAING, ESQ. [SECRETARY.]
- 60 THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE, K.T.  
REV. JOHN LEE, D.D.  
THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.  
COLIN MACKENZIE, ESQ.  
HON. J. H. MACKENZIE, LORD MACKENZIE.
- 65 JAMES MACKENZIE, ESQ.  
JAMES MAIDMENT, ESQ.  
THOMAS MAITLAND, ESQ.  
GILBERT LAING MEASON, ESQ.  
THE VISCOUNT MELVILLE, K.T.
- 70 WILLIAM HENRY MILLER, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF MINTO.  
SIR JAMES W. MONCREIFF, BART.  
JOHN ARCHIBALD MURRAY, ESQ.  
WILLIAM MURRAY, ESQ.

## THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

---

- 75 JAMES NAIRNE, ESQ.  
MACVEY NAPIER, ESQ.  
FRANCIS PALGRAVE, ESQ.  
HENRY PETRIE, ESQ.  
ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.
- 80 JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF ROSSLYN.  
ANDREW RUTHERFURD, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF SELKIRK.  
RIGHT HON. SIR SAMUEL SHEPHERD, LORD CHIEF  
BARON OF SCOTLAND.
- 85 ANDREW SKENE, ESQ.  
JAMES SKENE, ESQ.  
GEORGE SMYTHE, ESQ.  
THE EARL SPENCER, K.G.  
JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ.
- 90 THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD, K.G.  
MAJOR-GENERAL STRATON.  
SIR JOHN ARCHIBALD STEWART, BART.  
HON. CHARLES FRANCIS STUART.  
ALEXANDER THOMSON, ESQ.
- 95 THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ. [VICE-PRESIDENT.]  
W. C. TREVELYAN, ESQ.  
PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.  
ADAM URQUHART, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE WARRENDER, BART.
- 100 THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WRANGHAM.
-

## CONTENTS.

---

PRELIMINARY NOTICE, . . . . . P. VII

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, PART FIRST; wherein  
are contained the most remarkable Passages of his Life, till his re-  
leasement out of Prison at Hull, in the Year 1649, . . . 1-88

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, PART SECOND; where-  
in are contained the most remarkable Passages of his Life, from his  
releasement out of prison at Hull, in October 1649, till November  
1663, . . . . . 89-136

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, PART THIRD; contain-  
ing a full Narration of the Insurrection in Scotland, towards the  
latter end of the Year 1666, and of his Misfortunes following there-  
upon, till the Year 1670, . . . . . 137-228

# IV

## APPENDIX.

### I. BISHOP GUTHRY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE LATE REBELLION OBSERVED, . . . . . P. 229

### II. LETTERS TO SIR JAMES TURNER.

1. From William Duke of Hamilton, 22 Nov. 1672,	247
2. From Dr Gilbert Burnet, 1 May [1673]	248
3. From Dr Burnet, 18 Aug. [1673]	248
4. From R. Hamilton of Dickmont, .... [1673]	249
5. From Dr Burnet, 22 Aug. 1673,	250
6. From the Duke of Hamilton, 28 Aug. 1673,	251
7. From Dr Burnet, 22 Nov. [1673]	252
8. From the Duke of Hamilton, .. ...	253
9. From the Duke of Hamilton, 22 Sept. [1675]	254
10. From the Duke of Hamilton, 13 Nov. 1675,	255
11. From the Duke of Hamilton, 19 Mar. 1677,	255
12. From the Duke of Hamilton, 11 Apr. [1677]	256
13. From the Duke of Hamilton, 23 May [1677]	257
14. " Discourse with the Archbishop of Glasgow, the 28 of May, 1677," by Sir James Turner, . . . . .	257
15. From the Duke of Hamilton, 1 Jun. [1677]	262
16. From the Duke of Hamilton, 16 Jun. [1677]	262
17. From the Duke of Hamilton, 10 Sept. [1677]	263
18. From the Duke of Hamilton, 26 Oct. [1677]	264
19. From the Duke of Hamilton, 2 Jan. 1678,	264
20. From Anne Duchess of Hamilton, 19 April, 1678,	265
21. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 22 Apr. [1678]	267
22. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 30 Apr. 1678,	268
23. From the Duchess of Hamilton, .. ...	269

24. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 20 May 1678, . . . .	270
25. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 17 Jun. 1678, . . . .	270
26. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 19 Jun. [1678] . . . .	271
27. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 20 Jun. 1678, . . . .	271
28. From Sir James Turner to a Person unknown, . . . .	272
29. From the Duchess of Hamilton, 4 Nov. 1678, . . . .	276
30. From Andrew Toftes, 10 Feb. 1679, . . . .	276
31. From the Duke of Hamilton, 4 Mar. [1679] . . . .	277
32. From Andrew Toftes, 4 Mar. 1679, . . . .	278
33. From the Duke of Hamilton, 5 Feb. [1680] . . . .	278
34. From the Lord Ross, 14 Jan. 1682, . . . .	279
35. From the Lord Ross, 22 Jan. 1682, . . . .	279
36. From the Lord Ross, 26 Jan. 1682, . . . .	280
37. From the Lord Ross, 10 Feb. 1682, . . . .	281
38. From the Lord Ross, 16 Feb. 1682, . . . .	282
39. From the Lord Ross, 6 Mar. 1682, . . . .	283
40. From the Lord Ross, 8 Mar. 1682, . . . .	284
41. From the Lord Ross, 11 Mar. 1682, . . . .	284
42. From James Earl of Arran, 21 Mar. 1682, . . . .	285
43. From the Earl of Arran, 22 Mar. 1682, . . . .	285
44. From the Lord Ross, 25 Mar. 1682, . . . .	286
45. From the Earl of Arran, 27 Mar. 1682, . . . .	287
46. From the Earl of Arran, 28 Mar. 1682, . . . .	288
47. From the Earl of Arran, 29 Mar. 1682, . . . .	289
48. From the Earl of Arran, . . . . .	290
49. From Sir Thomas Levingston, 11 Apr. [1682,] . . . .	291
50. From Sir Thomas Levingston, . . . . .	292
51. From the Lord Ross, 13 Apr. 1682, . . . .	292
52. From the Lord Ross, 15 Apr. 1682, . . . .	293
53. From the Earl of Arran, 19 Apr. 1682, . . . .	294
54. From Sir James Turner to the Earl of Arran, 21 Apr. 1682, . . . .	294

# VI

55. From William Master of Ross, Apr. 25, [1682]	.	296
56. From the Earl of Arran, May 4, [1682]	.	296
57. From the Earl of Arran, May 6, 1682,	.	297
58. From the Lord Sempill, May 6, 1682,	.	298
59. From the Earl of Arran, May 11, 1682,	.	299
60. From the Earl of Arran, May 19, 1682,	.	299
61. From the Earl of Arran, . . . . .	.	300

1870  
1871  
1872  
1873  
1874  
1875  
1876  
1877  
1878  
1879  
1880  
1881  
1882  
1883  
1884  
1885  
1886  
1887  
1888  
1889  
1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1899  
1900

The British & American, which kept out well enough, till we storm'd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, whereby they command'd the strip'd of mator, this morderer. In the assault forties of them were put to the sword, we left five or six, with Arziled Major. After this, Inexorable Christ made them define a parley; I was order'd to speak with them, we, then sent the Lt General to move to grant any other conditions, then that they sent yeeds on D. Lorton, or Morcy. And I found strange to me to hear the Lt General's mis-disposition, that they sent yeeds themselves to the Kingdome's mercy, and not to his: At length they did so, and after they were come out of the Castle, they were sent to the sword, & some Method sent, except one young man Mackonill, as he said I beg'd to be sent to France with a hundred country fellows, whom we had smother'd out of a cave, as they were for to do. Who were given to Captain Campbell, the Churches Brother.



## PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

---

THE work here given, under the title of MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, has been extracted from a volume of Discourses on various subjects of Philosophy and Literature, in the hand-writing of the author, compiled at different periods of his life ; and with the different portions of which he has connected a history of himself, down to the date of the manuscript in the year 1670. The relation of these biographical portions of the volume to its other contents, will best appear from a short analysis of the whole, which is subjoined to this Preface ; and on the part of the Editor it may be enough to add, that no liberty of the slightest kind has been taken with the author's composition, beyond that of separating these historical parts from the larger mass, and arranging them as a continuous narrative.

The hand-writing of Sir James Turner is sufficiently well known to place the genuineness of this manuscript beyond the possibility of a doubt ; and of its fate subsequently to the author's death, some slight

# VIII

notices have been preserved. He was survived by his wife, to whose worth so many affectionate tributes are paid in these Memoirs ; and after his death, Lady Turner resided in the family of Lieutenant Richard Turnbull, of the Scots Dragoons, (whose wife was probably her near relation,) first in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, afterwards in the Island of Arran, at the White House of Lamlash, where she died, as is supposed, about the year 1716. To Mr and Mrs Turnbull, she is reported to have left a considerable sum of money, and other valuable property ; and, in particular, there can be no doubt that they retained the possession of Sir James Turner's manuscripts.

These papers did not escape the notice and inquiries of the indefatigable Mr Robert Wodrow ; and, in the valuable collection of his Correspondence, lately purchased by the Curators of the Advocates' Library, there are several letters on the subject, addressed to him by the Rev. James Boes, minister of Campbeltown. On the 8th of July, 1723, Mr Boes writes,—“ I have caus'd enquire at Mr Turnbull anent Sir James Turner's Memoirs, and find he has them, but is not willing to part with them, being, as he says, pre-ingadg'd to the D. of Hamiltone not to part with them till he see them. I shall deall with the Arran ministers to use their interest with him for a sight of them, under what security he shall demand ; and if so, ye shall have an account of them one way or other.” Again, on the 4th of February, 1724, Mr Boes reports to his correspondent as follows :—“ I desired Mr Stuart, [minister of Kilbride,] in Arran, to procure a copy of Sir

Ja. Turner's manuscript, and particularly intreated him, which he promised to do. The person Turnbull who has it, tho otherwise a discreet man, yet is at the heart strongly prelatical, and a Jacobite, as is his wife. However, if it can be procured, doubt not of its being sent to you." These attempts had proved unsuccessful ; and, in answer to a letter from Mr Wodrow, March 2, 1724, " praying the continuance of his endeavours to get a loan of Sir James Turner's papers from Mr. Turnbull, if he would not part with them," Mr Boes writes, on 3d of November, 1724,—“ I have done all I could, both here and in Arran, to procure that manuscript of Sir Ja. Turner, but without successe. Mr Turnbull is dead, and his relict, who is but ill affected to our interest, refuses to part with it, saying, she knows not where it is. However, if I can possibly procure it, ye shall have at least a copy, tho' I'm told by such as perused it, that it contains but a narrative of what he did there, with his orders, and reflections on what he calls the stiff humor, and obstinat refractory temper of the people oppressed and persecuted by him, which was all he had to say in his own justification.”

After Mrs Turnbull's death, her effects passed into the possession of her nephew, William Wilson, a person of respectability in the island of Arran, who probably allowed the papers, so eagerly sought after by Wodrow, to remain undisturbed and uncared for. At the sale of his furniture, after his death in 1767, a strong box of nice and curious construction happened to attract the attention of Mr John Stuart, son of

the Rev. Gershom Stuart, minister of Kilbride, and grandson of the Rev. James Stewart, mentioned in Wodrow's Correspondence, then a youth of thirteen years old, and afterwards his father's successor. His importunities prevailed on his mother to purchase this box ; and on examining it, young Stuart discovered the manuscript in question, together with a considerable number of letters addressed to Sir James Turner; all of which, though perfectly legible, had suffered great injury from damp. When he afterwards went to College at Glasgow, he carried this manuscript with him, and placed it in the hands of Robert and Andrew Foulis, the celebrated printers of that University, with permission to print such parts of it as they might think fit. This, however, was declined, and the manuscript remained in the possession of Mr Stuart till about twenty years ago, when it was brought into notice by the publication of a few extracts in a provincial newspaper. It passed afterwards into the hands of a bookseller at Greenock, from whom, it is believed, it was purchased about ten years ago, by the late Mr Archibald Constable, whose intention it certainly was to have published the historical portions of the volume. The manuscript is now the property of David Constable, Esq. advocate ; and with his permission the present edition of these Memoirs has been prepared.

To the Memoirs are here added, in an Appendix, the Letters addressed to Sir James Turner, found in his strong-box or cabinet ; which, although not perhaps of very deep historical importance, throw some

scattered lights on the course of his life for several years after his removal from military employment, and will be found to exhibit some amiable contrasts to those darker impressions of his character, which have been too deeply, and, it is to be feared, too justly stamped on the contemporary history of his age, ever to be effaced.

At every period of his life, Sir James Turner appears to have been much addicted to literary composition. Besides his printed works, of which "*Pallas Armata*,—Essays on the Art of War," is the most considerable, he left various manuscripts ; but among these, little of any value as a fit addition to this historical work has been found, excepting a few remarks on Bishop Guthry's Memoirs. These are valuable, as the testimony, in most instances, of an eye-witness, and have been, accordingly, introduced into the Appendix to this volume, printed from the original manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

In the same Library there is preserved a copy of another work, entitled " Buchanan Revis'd ; or, Animadversions on the Historie of Scotland, and a Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, both write " by Mr George Buchanan." This work is in its nature controversial, and intended to counteract the anti-monarchical principles of the writings which he undertakes to criticise ; but in the Introduction, Sir James Turner has given some few additional notices of himself, which it has been thought worth while to quote in the Appendix.

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

1762

## APPENDIX.

---

I. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT FROM WHICH  
SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS HAVE BEEN EXTRACTED.

- P. 1. “ *The Introduction to these Discourses, wherein are contained the most remarkable Passages of my Life, till my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in the Year 1649.*”
- P. 68. The following ESSAYS or DISCOURSES, are of—(1) DUTIES OF SOVERAIGNS AND SUBJECTS.—(2) THE SUPREME POUER IN ALL REPUBLYCKS.—(3) MONARCHIE.—(4) ARISTOCRACIE.—(5) DEMOCRACIE.—(6) ORATORS AND PREACHERS.—(7) MAGICKS.—(8) THE JEWS CABALE.—(9) FRIENDSHIP.—(10) EXTERNALL EVILLS AND MISFORTUNES.—(11) IMPRISONMENT.—(12) ANGER.—(13) REVENGE.—(14) DUELLS.—(15) CRUELTY.
- P. 192. A Letter from Don Francisco of Quevedo to Philander of Sitmald, who wrote the Continuation of Quevedos Visions. Concerning some Discourses which passed in the Internall Court betweene the late Vsurper Oliver Cromwell, the late Chancellor of Sweden, Axell Oxesterne, and the Lord Wilienstrome. Sent by the Post of Hell. In yeare 1659. Englished out of the Hie Dutche.
- P. 230. A Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgie—to wit :  
Bowling at the name of Jesus.  
The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and good Lord deliver us.  
Of the Doxologie.  
Of Surplusses, Rotchets, and Canonick Coats.
- P. 271. “ *A full Narration of the Insurrection in Scotland towards the latter end of the Yeare 1666, and of my Misfortunes following thereupon.*”

#### XIV

P. 272. "*In the Introduction are contained the remarkable Passages of my Life, from my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in 8<sup>ber</sup> 1649 till 9<sup>ber</sup> 1663. The rest are narrated in the Narration till the Yeare of God 1670.*"

P. 308. *The Narration.*

P. 387. The Concometancie of Joy and Griefe. (*in verse.*)

P. 389. Two Heroicall Epistles, supposed to haue beene writ by Mahomet the Great and Irene, the faire Greeke.

Composed before I was ane and twentie yeares of age.

P. 403. End of the two Epistles.

P. 404. Ane Elegie on the Death of the Earle of Lothian. Designed by William Douglas of Tofts

"The Argument.—It wants but a few yeares of halfe ane age since the Earle of Lothian's death made a great noyse in the world: The strange manner of it furnishing matter of strange discourses to people of all rankes and qualities. He was a person of a great spirit, endued with excellent parts. He had seene the most renouned places of Europe. Naturally curious he was, which perhaps made him studie Astrologie. He made choyce of William Douglas of Tofts to be his freend, his confident, and his *alter ego*. This was a gentleman of a good spirit, generous, and learned *in omni scibili*, especially in the Mathematickes, wherein he had attained to so great a perfection, that he had no equal in his oune countrey, perhaps few in Christendome. As intimate as he was with the Earle, it is cleare enough, by his oune complaints, that he was not entrusted with the secret of his death. He either finish'd, or intended to finish, the composition of ane Elegie on this sad subject. In the yeare 1662, I fortund to be in the Mers, wher I gave a visite to Archbald Douglas of Lumsden, brother to this Tofts, where he shew me this peece, pitifullie torne, mutilated, defective in most places, and writ with a very bad orthographie. He and I having long befor contracted a strict enough friendship in Germanie, he prayed me to look on it, and to take a litle paines to reduce it to some good order, at least to make it intelligible,



XV.

for the memory of his noble brother who design'd it. And certainly the original wanted his last hand to it, or that copie which his brother gave me was exceedingly imperfite. I tooke it with me to Edinburgh; foure days I spent before I could get it red, and foure more before I could vnderstand or guesse at the scope of it. At length I put it in that garbe in which it is now to be seene, and sent it to my friend."

P. 429. MISCELLANIES written at several times for DIVERTISEMENT.—The PREFACE.

—FRANCESCO PETRARCHA.—EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND.

—PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.—LUCRETIA ROMANA.—LUCRETIA BORGIA.—LUCRETIA MARINELLA.—ORLANDO.—ENHARD and IMA,

[i. e. EGINHARD and EMMA.]—JULIUS SCALIGER.—MARY STEUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS.—RAYMUNDUS LULLUS.—THE STRANGE EVENT OF A

DISPUTE IN RELIGION.—CARDINAL MAZARINE.—THE KING'S EVILL.—

WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND.—GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF

BUCKINGHAME.—MARY TOUTHER, QUEENE OF ENGLAND.—CHARLES

GUSTAVE, KING OF SWEDEN.—CHRISTINA, QUEENE OF SWEDEN.

END.

## II. EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO "BUCHANAN REVISED," &c.

---

"I BEGAN to write these papers which follow, in the year of God 1643, in Ireland, but made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes employed there, and afterwards in Scotland and England: Bot fyve years after that, being prisoner in Hull, in England, from September 1648, till November 1649, I had leasure and opportunitie enough to write; and such was the civilitie of Colonell Overtoun, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I call'd for, the peruseall whereof I had at an easie rate per week; nor did he hinder me to write any thing my fancie led me to; and when I had gott my libertie mostly procur'd by him, he suffered not any of my papers to be search'd, though in severalls of them I had write my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James Duke of Hamiltone, and of the change of monarchy in a pretended commonwealth. There it was that I finish'd all I intended to say of Buchanans writeings; but my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromuelians, in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sack'd, and plundered by Generall Monck, who liv'd to doe more acceptable service to God and his Prince, and all the three kingdomes. I had car'd the lesse for the destruction of these papers, if I had not lost better moveables; bless'd be God for his mercy in saving my wife from being kill'd by these furious plunderers. Four years after that, in the year 1655, I found myself in good enough leasure in Bremen, a towne in Germanie, to resume my former labour, which encouraged me to write over most of what I had said before on that subject; and in the year 1659, I finished them at the Hagg, in Holland. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets, till the year 1669, a year after I had laid down my commissions, and then I had leisure more then enough to write them over in mundo; and indeid they have lyen ever since in parcells by me, till in this year 1679, I was mov'd by a very accidentall emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book, as now you see them."

**MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;**

**PART FIRST,**

**WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED**

**THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE**

**TILL HIS RELEASEMENT OUT OF PRISON**

**AT HULL IN THE YEAR 1649.**



## SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

---

I WAS not seventeene yeares old when I left the schooles, where haveing lightlie passed thorough that course of philosophie which is ordinarlie taught in the universities of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and grandfather to commence Master of Arts at Glasgow, much against my will, as never intending to make use of that title which undeservedlie was bestowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath beene on too many since. I stayd a yeare after with my father at Dalkeith, applying myselfe to the studie of humane letters and historie, in bothe which I allways tooke delight. I did reade also the controversies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes, (for the Presbyterians at that time made litle or no noyse,) wherby I might be enabled to discern the truth of the Protestant perswasion and the fallacies of the Popish one or any other, that so I might not, in traversing the world, be carried away with everie wind of doctrine. Bot before I attained to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a restles desire enterd my mind, to be, if not an actor, at least a spectator of these warrs which at that time made so much noyse over all the world, and were managd against the Roman Emperour and the

Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auspicious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sueden. Sir James Lumfdaine was then levieing a regiment for that service; with him, (my neereft freinds consenting to it,) I engaged to go over enfigney to his brother Robert Lumfdaine, eldest captaine; who since that time was a generall major, and tuo days before the king was routed at Worcester, was killed at Dundee, (where he was governour,) in cold blood, ane houre after he had got quarter.

It was about Lambes of the yeare 1632, that we came before El-fennure in Denmark, where we stayd three days, and therafter landed at Rostock in the Dutchie of Mecklenburg; from whence we marched to the Archbifhoprick of Bremen, where, whether with the change of aire or dyet, or by eating too much fruit, (wherof I saw that countrey abound more than my ounes,) or all three, I fell grievouslie sicke. My fever keepd me fixe weeks, and by that time I was able to walke abroad, we were sent to reduce some obstinate countries to order, and force them to submit to the Suedish yoake. This provd a hard and severe winter to me and all of us, who knew not before what it was not to have tuo or three meals aday, and goe to bed at a feasonable houre at night.

The King of Suedens victories had carried him so far up in Germanie, that we never came to see him. At the time of our arriveall, his fortune beganne to decline; for at Nuremberg, trusting to that prodigious successe which had attended all his former undertakeings, he stormed a well fortified campe entrenched on a hill, in which were tuo armies; the Imperiall under Wallenstein, and that of the League under the Elector of Bavaria. As this was a rash, so it proved an unfor-

fortunate .....; for beaten he was with the losse of neere foure thousand killed on the place, among whom were many brave ..... and gentlemen. Neere fixe thousand wounded, so that all the hospitalls and lazarettos of Nuremberg were sufficientlie filld. Nixt November, this magnanimous king, endeavouring to save the Duke of Saxe his lands from the same Wallenstein, losd his life at the battel of Lutsen, which notwithstanding was wonne by the conduct and valour of Bernard Duke of Weimar. In Februaire 1633, a strong and veterane armie of the Sueds came to the Lower Germanie, under the command of George Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg as generall, and Dodo Baron of Knipphausen as felt marshall, with which joynd Lumf-dains Scots regiment, and one English one under the same Colonell Ash-ton who was killed at Tradaff or Drogheda in Ireland, where he was governor, where all were put to the fuord by Cromwell in the yeare 1649.

With this armie I had a lamentable cold, wet and rainie march, till we layd siege to the strong toune of Hammeln, which held out, with the destruction of multitudes of our men, till the 28th of June, and till the two earles Merod and Grünfield, both Imperiall generalls, came with an armie of 20,000 men to relieve it. We broke up, and met them foure English miles from thence, and fought them. This was a battell wherin so much blood was shed, as was enough to flesh such novices as I was. We gaine the victorie, which was a great one to be gaine with so little losse on our side. Neere nine thousand of the Imperialists were killd in the place, three thousand taken, with eightene canon, and above eightie standards and collors. The toune yeelded thereafter on articles. After this battell, I saw a great many killd in cold blood

by the Finns, who professe to give no quarter. The whole time of this siege, my best entertainment was bread and water, abundance of the last, but not so of the first ; but this proceeded from want of money, for the leager was plentiful enough. The rest of this summer, next harvest and next winter, I was at the sieges of severall towns and castles, and at many brushes, encounters and . . . . . ; and all the time sufferd exceeding great want of both meate and clothes, being necessitated to ly constantly in the fields with little or no shelter, to march allways a foot, and drinke water ; so that then I could verifie that which I had so often heard at schoole, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. And indeed I was so hardend with fatigue, that thogh at first I longd to be hacke at Scotland, yet being so well inurd to toile, I fullie resolved to goe on in that course of life of which I had made choyce, and I thought then I could have livd all my days on a very spare dyet, and without a bed too ; so true it is that *Habitus est altera natura*.

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, our English and Scotch regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe neere to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widows house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a ritt-master of the Emperors. She was very handsome, wittie and discreet ; of her, thogh my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfittie enamourd. Heere we staid fixe weeks, in which time she taught me the Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne bot very rudlie from sojors. Haveing then the countrey language, I learnd also the fashions and customes of the Germane officers ; and about this time was both regiments reduced to tuo companies ; tuo captaine lieutenants, and tuo ensigneys, (wherof



I was one,) onlie ordaind to stand; all the rest casheerd, and in great neecessitie and povertie. The tuo companies were bot badlie used, tossed to and fro, in constant danger of ane enemie, and without pay. Bot I had learnd so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meate, nor moneys; and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I servd in Germanie, I sufferd no such miserie as I had done the first yeare and a halfe that I came to it.

It was in this yeare that the Emperors Generalissimo Wallenstein, intending to betray his master, familie and armie, [was put to] death by Gordon and Leslie at Egar in Bohemia, by the way of fact, *per viam facti*, as they call it, because by the way of right, or *de jure*, he was so strong as he could not be proceeded against. The actors were well rewarded by the Emperour, especiallie Leslie. Ferdinand the Second entrusts the conduct of his forces to his sonne the King of Hungarie, who, with the help of the Cardinall Infant, brother to the King of Spaine, gave a total defeate to tuo Suedish armies, under the command of Bernard Duke of Weimar and the Suedish field-marshal Gustave Horne. Sixe thousand or therby, wherof our tuo companies made up some part, were on our march to Nordling, where the battell was fought, to have reinforced the Sueds; and were within a few leagues of Frankford du Mein when we heard of the rout, and so were countermanded to Westphalia. By this one blow the Sueds loofd more ground then they had gaine in a yeare before; and nixt yeare most of the Dutch princes made their peace with the Emperor.

Towards the latter end of this yeare, my fathers death calld me to Scotland to give my mother a visite, where I was forced to stay longer

then I intended; for the frost continued that winter universallie through Europe till the midft of March 1635. In the summer I returned, and being informed at my landing at Bremen, that some officers intended to goe from Hamburg to Persia, I resolvd to make one of that number, and upon that account went thither; where I found many of my countrey-men, some English and some Germans, great with child of that expedition, wherein they promised themselves more gold then the philosophers stone can afford the alchymists. The matter was this. The Duke of Holstein Gottorff intended to set up a trade with Persia, for silks to be transported from Hircania thorough the Caspian sea, and then up the great river Volga, from thence to Riga, then to Holstein. The Sophi of Persia was contented ane embassador should be sent to treat with him concerning the traffique, but that the embassador should bring with him as many officers as possible he could, to traine the Persian foot, wherein he was farre inferior to the Turke. A number of us were to goe as members of the embassadors household and traine, because the Great Duke of Musco, being at peace with the Grand Seigneur, would not suffer us to goe otherwise; but the Russe hearing the designe, wrote to the Duke that he would not suffer his envoy to passe with such followers. After I had spent some of my moneys at Hamburg, and got a promise of the directors of that expedition, that roome should be kept for me if the voyage went on, I went to Osnaburg, where my colonell Sir James Lumisdaine was governour. The Persian expedition was bloune up by the perfidie of the Dukes embassador, who revealed the whole plot to the Turke; for which he had his head stricke off at his return from Persia, having deserved a more ignominious death. At my arrival at Lumisdaines garrison, I found my place was disposed to ane other, which

I lookd upon as no fair play, being done contrare to promise. I was forced to stay there. Sir James going away, and the Imperialists prevailing every where, Osnaburg is blockd up by the Marques of Grana. This blockado was coufine german to a feege ; in the time wherof I came againe in employment.

Nixt summer the Sueds prevails ; old Leslie is made our fieldmarshal, (Knipphausen being killd,) and King his lieutenant generall ; they beate away the Marques, who besiegd us in Osnaburg, joyns with the Landgrave of Hessen, and with joynt forces beates Lamboy and some other of the Emperors generalls, who had besiegd the strong towne of Hanaw two yeares, and put fresh provision in it. Heere was Sir James Ramsay governour. After this Leslie joynes with Banier, and both of them fought with the Duke of Saxe, and ane Imperiall armie at Woodstocke, where they gained a compleate victorie.

In the yeare 1637, I went with some commanded men, with Lieutenant Generall King, into the land of Hessen, to assist the Landgrave to beate some Imperiall regiments out of his territories, who indeed were making havocke of all among his poore subjects. Upon our approach they retired ; but though we were two to one against them at least, and that Bigod, who commanded them, made a stand at Eschvegen, yet did we retire in great haste, though in good enough order, back to Cassels the Landgraves residence and capital citie, and left the poor countrey to the mercy of an enraged enemy, who had order by fire and sword to force the Landgrave to accept of the peace of Prague. Neither did Bigod spare to burn three faire townes, Eschvegen, Olendorpe and Vitsenhaußen before our eyes. A mournfull sight it was, to see the whole people follow us, and climb the two high rocks which flanked us. Old

and young left their houses, by the losse of them and their goods to save their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourscore, most lame or blind, supported by their sonnes, daughters and grandchildren, who themselves carried their little ones on their backs, was a ruthfull object of pitie to any tender hearted Christian, and did shew us with what dreadfull countenance that bloodie monster of warre can appear in the world. Neither did our feare, (which often masks itself with reason of state, as then it did,) permit us to make any stay at Cassels, but pou'd us with some haste to Westphalia. As we pass'd by a little town called Brokle, where lay an Imperiall garrison, a great many of them had fallied out, lind the hedges and annoy'd the Hessich, who that day had the vant; which when King saw, he commanded this Sir Edward Bret and me, with each of us fiftie musketeers, to beate them in; which we did, with a great losse to them, and of three or four of our owne men. Therafter finding no enemy in the field to oppose us, the Landgrave and King besieged the little but indeed strong town of Vecht, in which was Luterfam, the Elector of Collens lieutenant generall. This siege we plyd so brisklie, that within eight days it yeelded on articles. From thence we runne to the siege of Furstanaw, which, when we had invested, the Landgrave, by the tolleration, perhaps advice, of the estates of Holland, broke up with his armie and marched into East Freezland, where nixt winter he dyed. Bot his armie, under the command of Lieutenant Generall Melander, quarterd there two yeares at least; wher they made themselves so strong, that therewith the brave Princeesse Emilia, Landgraves, in the minoritie of her pupill sonne, of whom she was Regent, did these feates in opposition to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third, as hath made herselfe famous to the world, and much

enlargd the territories of that protestant prince. After this separation, Lieutenant Generall King was forced to breake vp the siege, and put his litle armie in guarriſon. Nixt yeare he joynd at Statlone, in the biſhoprick of Munſter, with Prince Palatine, and beſeegd Lemgo; but the ſudden approach of Count Hatffeld with ane Imperiall armie obligd them to get them gone; bot was overtaken by him neere Vlotho, and there rather ſhamfullie routed then overthroune, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven were taken, with many brave gentlemen more. Nixt ſpring I fell grievouſlie ſicke of a tertian, which keepd me full ſeventeene weekes.

It is not my purpoſe to relate all the great actions were done in Germanie during my aboade there, that being the ſubject of ane other ſtorie; or yet of all the occurrences befell myſelfe, that wold be tedious; and therefore I ſhall ſay, that haveing paſſd thorough the ſeverall charges of enſigney, lieutenant, captaine lieutenant, and captaine, after I had recovered of my ague, being diſcontented with my colonell, one Plettemberg a Courlander, for impoſeing too hard conditions of recruits on me, I tooke my leave of that ſervice in the frontiers of Franconia, and went ſtraight to Scotland, to look for ſome employment under the Prince Elector, who as I heard, by order of parliament, was to levie ten thouſand men in that kingdome. Being arrivd I found indeed a parliament fitting in the yeare 1639, where E. Traquair was commiſſioner; but no word of levies for Germanie, but verie great rumours of civile warrs. I ſtayd bot one fortnight there. At my return to Germanie nixt winter, I engagd to raiſe a companie of Germans vnder one Colonell Burgſdorff, who paſt then vnder the reputation of a brave and honeſt cavalier; bot I found he was more obliged to report than he

deserved ; for he cheated me shamefullie by giveing up his capitulation, laying the blame on Felt marshall Banier having strengthened his regiment with five and forty men which I had levied on my owne charges, which could cost me no lesse than foure hundreth dollars ; so many leviers there were for severall interests, and so knavish the fojors.

This abuse obligd me to goe to Sueden, to complaine to these who were Administrators dureing the minoritie of Queene Christina. I went in companie with Sir James Lumisdaine, whose regiment I had left foure yeares before, and Colonell David Lesley, since Lord Neuuarke. We shipd at Lubeck, and after a fortnights toyle at sea, we landed at Stokholme the capitall citie of that kingdome ; much beautified since with these sumptuous and magnificent palaces which the Suedish generalls have built, as monuments of these riches they acquired in the long German warre. There I saw one of the fairest castles, and of the greatest reception, of anie I ever lookd on, all coverd with copper, of which mettall that kingdome abounds. It stands on a prettie ascending hill from the sea ; and under it, for most part, rides the navie royall, composd of great and tall ships, carrying some 50, some 60, some 70, and some eightie brasse guns. The Queene was then about fourteene yeares old, applying herselfe much to learne forreine languages, and to the studie of these sciences, which by the strength of her . . . naturall endowments she soone acquired, which has made her so famous all the world over. Her mother, a beautifull and vertuous princeesse, at this same time when I was at Stokholme, stole away out of Sueden, being necessitated so to doe by the rude entertainment given her by the five Administrators ; bot within a few yeares brought backe with honor by her daughter, after she had tane the reines of the government in her

oune hands. Her coufine german, the Palsgrave Charles Gustav, since that time king, and famous enough for the short time of his raigne, was just then returned from his travells in Italie, France, England and Germanie.

I petitiond the Councell, and made my particular application to the renouned Chancellor Oxestern, who, as he had with admirable prudence and successe mannagd the warre in Germanie after the king his masters death, with the title of Director of the Evangelicke League and Plenipotentiarie Legat for Sueden, so I found that in Sueden itselfe, he governed all affaires of state both forreine and domestick. After fixe weeks stayer, they offerd me a letter to Field marshall Banier, to cognosce on the difference betueene Burgfdorff and me. But knowing well enough to what litle purpose I should make so expensive and dangerous a journey to find out Banier, who in pursueance of his good fortune had enterd Bohemia, I desired my passe, which was granted me, and with it as much money as I suppose I had spent at that Court. Haveing signified my desire to goe to Gottenberg, and there to ship for Scotland, they gave me the Queens passe for free horses, meate and drink by the way; a custome much in use then, and very grievous to the poore countrey men, since justlie abrogated by a law.

I did well perceave the Administrators encouragd all my countrey men to goe home, old Generall Leslie being then to enter England with ane armie; and there is no doubt but that rebellion, whereof he was heade, was fomented by both Sueden and France; the late king in the yeare 1630, haveing made peace with Spaine, so much to the prejudice of the ambitious designs of these tuo crownes. I was no lesse then a fortnight in travelling to Gottemberg, thogh in August 1640; yet it is bot

fiftie Suedish leagues, each wherof we can compute to be no lesse then fixe English miles at least. At my arriveall there, I understood there were tuo ships lying at Millstrand in Norway, three Suedish miles from Gottemberg, one ane Englishman bound for Hull, ane other a Dane bound for Leith.

I had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that so we serve our master honnestlie, it is no matter what master we serve; so, without examination of the justice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I resolved to goe with that ship I first rencounterd. After tuo days necessare stay at Gottenberg, I hired a boat and went away in the evening; we rowed all night, and having paid tuo Suedish castles, about breake of day we came neere Millstrand. Understanding the wind blew faire for both ships, I was advised to step out, and goe a foot straight thorough the toune to the shoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my servant and coffer. I did so, and came just there as the Englishman was hoyseing his failes. I askd him if he wold give me passage to Hull, (a place I have since beene too well acquainted with,) who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold presentlie step in. I beseeched him to stay till my servant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no intreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable skipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hinderd me to present my endeavors to serve the King against the Covenanters. I calld instantlie for the Dane who was bound for Scotland, resolving to serve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; so deeplie was that base maxime rooted in



my heart. The people pointed with their fingers to the ship, which had got a great way out from the shoare, and stayd there for a passenger whom the skipper had promised to carry to Edinburgh. He was ane old man, who at taking his farewell of his friends the night before, had drunke so much that he had sleepd his time. Immediatlie I clapt in fresh men in my boate, the others being overwearièd with rowing, and so came to the ship; neither did the skipper make any scruple to ressave me, though at first he conceived his old man was in my companie. To the neglect of this old man, next to all ruling providence, may I attribute my going at that time to Scotland. On the sixth day after my imbarkeing, we saw ourselvs not farre from Aberdeene. I was glad we were so farre north, because I had heard the kings ships were in the firth; bot I was mistaken, for they were gone; and no matter they had been gone sooner, for any good service they did the king there. The skipper set me ashore at a place called the Cove, from thence I hired horses to Edinburgh. This was in the month of September; and Generall Leslie having marchd into England, with a numerous armie at the Lambes before, and put my Lord Conway with some of the kings forces to a shamefull retreat at Newburne, had made himself master of Newcastle, and all the Bishoprick of Durham. I found this succeffe had elevated the minds of my countrey men in generall to such a height of vanitie, that most of them thought, and many said, they should quicklie make a full conquest of England; bot time hath shoune them since that they made their reckoning without their host, for the very contrare fell out.

After a short stay at Edinburgh, I rode straight to Newcastle, where I found all offices and charges of the armie filld up except one, which

was the majors place of my Lord Kirkkubrights regiment, which consisted of the men of Galloway, a place and a people fatall to me. The Earle of Rothes, father to this lord chancellor, professing very great kindnes to me, easilie perswaded the generall to bestow that charge on me; who otherwise bore me bot little good will, for some differences had beene betueene his brother and me in Germanie, where I accusd him of eleven points of treason; bot the controversie betueene him and me was decided by a canon bullet, which tooke away his heade. In that charge I continued ten months in England, a cessation of armes being everie month renewed betueene the Royalists and Covenanters.

The blacke Parliament of England having stricke of Straffords loyall heade, imprisond the Archbishop of Canterburrie, and frighted all the statemen and courtiers who might oppose them beyond seas, they got the king to passe the bill for trienniall parliaments, and ane other for the present one to sit as long as it pleased. They had no more use for the Scots armie, and therefore after haveing given a brotherlie present of three hundreth thousand pounds sterline, (a very kind and loveing compliment,) they sent them home to their oune countrey richer, I suppose, then when they came out of it. All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sueare and signe it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle; haveing not yet studied a better one, that I wrongd not my conscience in doing any thing I was commanded to doe by these whom I served. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me; everie one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England.

The king, in his passing to Scotland, had viewd the Scots armie as

it lay quarterd in the Bishoprick and Northumberland. When we came home all were disbanded, except three regiments which had not at all beene in England. One was under Major Generall Monro, the second under Colonell Cochran, both which were quarterd neere Edinburgh. The third, consisting of fixe companies of Orkney and Cathnes men, was under my Lord Sinclar, and lay at Aberdeene. The Parliament of Scotland wold needs sit before the king came, for such was their pleasure; and when he came, it did what it pleased; my lord Argile, at that time created Marques, carrying all before him. He got a creature of his oune, and of his oune name, to be chanclor, to the disparagement of a farre honefter man, the Earle of Morton, Argiles oune father in law and benefactor. Heere the king gave way to his parliament to dispose of all offices of state, and of his forts, castles and militia, all of them undoubted prerogatives of the Croune. Ane act of oblivion wold not serve this parliament, for their takeing armes against the king; it must be ane act of justification, which passd with the kings consent. Presbiterian government is heere establisshed, and Episcopacie abrogated by law; the king out of his goodnes granting all they desired, thinking thereby to gaine them; and indeed it was his constant fate and practice to impouer his enemies to doe him more and more mischief. This he felt before tuo yeares went about; and even then he might have seene their wickednes, when they wounded his honor irreparable, by makeing the people beleve he intended either to put Marques Hamilton and Argile aboard one of his ships, and send them prisoners to England, or to assassinate them in his palace of Halyroodhouse; which horrible calumnie these tuo lords seconded, by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil.

In the latter end of October 1641, came the lamentable news of the execrable rebellion of Ireland, in which so many thousands of innocent Protestants, both Scots and English, men and women, young and old; were put to cruell deaths by the barbarous and savage Irish. The parliament of England sent over present succours; that of Scotland offers ten regiments of foot, each consisting of one thousand men; to maintaine the Protestant interest in Ireland, bot to be entertained by England. The proffer is accepted, and old Leslie, newly created Earl of Leven, for his successfull rebellion against the king, is appointed to be generall of these 10,000. men, against the rebels in Ireland, who (had they not shed so much blood,) did no more against his majestie, then Leven himselfe had done.

Monro and Cochran are ordaind in the spring to goe over to Craigfergus with their regiments; the first hath a commission to be governour of the towne and castle of Craigfergus, and major generall of the ten regiments; the second is cashiered for offering to be loyall. My Lord Sinclars fixe companies are reduced to foure, and they ordered to go over with Monro, till my lord raised fixe more to make up his regiment compleate. The other seven regiments were to be transported so soone as they were levied. A litle before the report of the rebellion came to Scotland, my Lord Sinclars major dyed, whose place my lord was pleased to bestow on me; a favour (in regard he had then choyce of a hundreth more sufficient) I can never either remember or mention bot with much thankfullnes. His brother was his lieutenant colonell, with whom I staid at Aberdeene some part of that winter, and towards the spring marchd southwards. I found Generall Leven dissatisfied with my Lord Sinclars election of me, pretending his consent should have

been fought; but if it had, I am sure it had never been got, for that Excellence of his was constantly my very heavy friend. We came to the west country in 1642, and lay at Irwine, Aire, and Kilmarnock more than a fortnight, waiting for a fair wind; which making a show to offer itself, Monro embarked at the Largs, Home (who had got Cochran's regiment) at Aire, and we at Irwine. When we were at sea the wind turned contrary, and so all of us met at Lamfash, a secure bay on the coast of the Isle of Arran, where we lay a fortnight, if I remember right; and then the wind again offering to be favorable, one of the king's ships which was with us shooting a warning pece, all weighed anchor, hoysd sail in an evening, and next day were in Craigfergus loch, and landed that night. The English forces that were there, under the Lords Conway and Chichester, marched to Belfast, leaving Craigfergus free for us. These two regiments, with those of the two Vicounts of Clancarty and Aird, and the two Colonel Steuarts further north, with some few others which afterwards were called, for distinction, the British forces, had preserved all that tract of Ulster which is nearest the sea from destruction; for the wild Irish did not only massacre all whom they could overmaster, but burnt towns, villages, castles, churches, and all habitable houses, endeavouring to reduce, as far as their power could reach, all to a confused chaos.

After we had refreshed a little, Major General Monro left seven or eight hundred men in Craigfergus, and went to the field with the rest, among whom was my lieutenant colonel and I; my Lord Conway went along also with near two thousand English. In the woods of Kilwarning we encountered some hundreds of the rebels, who after a short dispute fled. These who were taken got but bad quarter, being

all shot dead. This was too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhumane and disfavouable, for the cruelty of one enimie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin also their revenge overmasterd their discretion, which shoud have taught them to save the lives of these they tooke, that the rebells might doe the like to their prisoners. Then we marchd straight to the Neurie, where the Irish had easilie seizd on his Majesties castle, wherein they found abundance of amunition, which gave them confidence to proclaime their rebellion. The fortification of the toune being bot begunne, it came immediatelie in our hands; bot the rebells that were in the castle keepd it tuo days, and then deliverd it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one; for the nixt day most of them, with many merchands and tradesmen of the toune, who had not beene in the castle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, some by shooting, some by hanging, and some by drowning, without any legall proceffe; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that severall innocent people sufferd. Monro did not at all excuse himselfe from having acceffion to that carnage, nor coulde he purge himselfe of it; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marshall of Ireland, was the principall actor. Our sojors (who sometimes are cruell, for no other reason bot because mans wicked nature leads him to be so, as I have shoune in my Discourfe of Crueltie) seeing such pranks playd by authoritie at the bridge, thought they might doe as much any where els; and so runne upon a hundreth and fiftie women or thereby, who had got together in a place below the bridge, whom they resolvd to maffacre by killing and drowning; which villanie the sea seemd to favour, it being then flood. Just at that time was I speaking with Monro, bot seeing a fare off what a

game these godles rogues intended to play, I got a horseback and gallopd to them with my pistoll in my hand; bot before I got at them they had dispatchd about a dozen; the rest I savd.

This execution had not the succeffe which Conway and Monro had promisd themselves; for instead of terrifieing the rebells from their wonted cruelties, it intraged them, and occasioned the murthuring of some hundreths of prisoners whom they had in their pouer. Sir Phelomey Oneale, the ringleader of the rebellion, hearing of the losse of the Neurie, in a beaftlie furie burnt the toune of Armagh, where he then was, and as much of the Cathedrall as fire could prevaile over, and then retir'd himsele to the woods and bogs. This gentleman was not the plotter of this rebellion; that was done by men of soberer heads and deeper judgments; but he was the grand instrument, and appeared first in armes, most treacheroullie pretending his Majesties commiffion for what he did, (wherof the rebells in England and Scotland made good use.) He had counterfeited a warrand under the kings hand, and to the false parchment annexed his Majesties great seale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confessed afterwards to many persones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death; to which he was deservedlie put, by hanging and drawing and quartering, at Dubline, by rebells as wicked as himsele, bot upon ane other account; for it was Cromwells partie that executed him.

My Lord Conway and Monro plunderd the Neurie, except a very few houses; most of the men that were left alive, Conway forced to carry armes under his oune regiment. This being done, Monro orders the toune and castle to be guarrifoned by my Lord Sinclars regiment, wherof onlie two hundreth were there with the lieutenant colonell

and myfelfe. We complaind, as we had good reafon, to be left in a place which our oune people had made deftitute of all things, bot in vaine. My lieutenant colonell ftayd at the Neurie, haveing got two hundreth commanded men added to his oune, till I fould bring up from Craigfergus as many of the regiment as were comd from Scotland. Accordingly I went thither with the armie ; we tooke our march thorough the woodes and mountaines of Morne, where feverall rebells were killd, and many cows taken. I do remember that there we fufferd one of the moft ftormie and tempeftuous nights for haile, raine, cold, and exceffive wind, (thogh it was in the beginning of May) that ever I yet faw. All the tents were in a trice bloune over. It was not poffible for any matche to keepe fire, or any fojor to handle his mufket, or yet to ftand ; yea feveralls of them dyed that night of meere cold. So that if the rebells, wherof there were 500 not farre from us, had offerd to beate up our quarters with fuch weapons as they had, which were halfe pikes, fuords and daggers, which they call fkeens, they wold undoubtedlie have had a cheap market of us. Our fojors, and fome of our officers too, (who fuppose that no thing that is more then ordinarie can be the product of nature,) attributed this hurrikan to the devilifh fkill of fome Irifh witches ; and if that was true, then I am fure their mafter gave us good prooffe that he was reallie prince of the aire.

I found about 500 of my Lord Sinclars regiment latelie arrivd at Craigfergus ; thefe I fhipd, and haveing obtained fome wheate from the Major Generall, bot verie fparinglie, and fome leade, wherof we had none at the Neurie, I went aboard ; and the wind being faire, nixt morning I caft anchor at Carlingford, where I found that man of warre who



had convoyd us out of Scotland. In the afternoone, I marchd in to the Neutrie; pitifull quarters we had, and when the rest of the regiment came over, which that summer they did, we found we had not houses for the halfe of them; for we were necessitated to take down a great many houses, to make the circumference of our walls the lesse. Our own preservation taught us to worke almost day and night, till we had finishd the irregular fortification begunne by the rebels. This great fatigue and toile, a very spare dyet, lying on the ground, litle sleepe, constant watching, Sir Phelemy being for most part allways within a days march of us, all these, I say, added to the change of the aire, made most or rather indeed all our officers and sojors fall seike of Irish agues, fluxes, and other diseases, of which very many dyed. These who recoverd, being inured to hardship and well traind, became excellent sojors and good firemen.

Monro made two more cavalcads that summer, in one wherof my lieutenant colonell was with him with 300 men; in the second, my selfe with the like number. In neither of them did he any memorable action, the rebels not dareing to face him, which made him conceive, because they did not then, that thereafter they neither could nor would. This opinion put him in danger nixt yeare, and four years after occasioned his totall overthrow at Blackwater. In one of these cavalcads, he layd siege to Charlemont, a strong castle, but broke up a litle too soone, even when there was hopes of a surrender.

About Lambes in this yeare, 1642, came Generall Leven over to Ireland, and with him the Earle of Eglinton, who had one of these ten regiments, my Lord Sinclare, and Hamilton generall of the artillerie, better known by the name of *Deare Sandie*. Great matters were ex-

pected from so famous a captain as Leven was, but he did not anfuere expectation. One cavalcad he made, in which I joynd with him with 300 men, in which I could not see what he intended, or what he proposd to himselfe. Sure I am he returnd to Craigfergus without doeing any thing. And the same game he playd over againe at his second march, except that he visited the Neurie; for which we were but litle obligd to him, being forced thereby to part with our hay, wine, beere, and breade, of which we were not very well stord. In this yeare beganne that fatall warre betweene the King and his rebellious Parliament, by which, among other bad effects, we fingered no pay the whole time I stayd in Ireland, except for three months.

The officers of this our Scots armie in Ireland finding themselves ill payd, and which was worse, not knowing in the time of the civill warre who shold be their paymasters, and reflecting on the successfull issue of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, bethought themselves of makeing one also; but they were wise enough to give it ane other name, and therefore christened it a Mutual Assurance; wherby upon the matter they made themselves independent of any except these who wold be their actuall and reall paymasters, with whom, for any thing I know, they met not the whole time of the warre. The Generall was very dissatisfied with this bond of union, as he had reason; and at first spoke hie language of striking heads off; but the officers sticking close one to another, made these threats evanish in smoake. And indeed it is like, ane active generall (who could have added policie to courage, and divided them,) might have made their union appear in its owne collors, which were even these of blacke mutinie. Bot the Earle of Leven, not being able to overmaster it, got himselfe ane errand to go to Scotland,

and so gave an everlasting adieu to Ireland. The most remarkable thing he did in the time of his stay was, that he tooke 2500lb. sterline to himselfe, which the Parliament of England had sent to the officers of his armie for wagon money. And trulie this Earle, who lived till he past fourscore, was of so good a memorie, that he was never knowne to forget himselfe, nay not in his extreame age. I can not say more of his deportments in Ireland then what my Lord Viscount Moore (who was killd next yeare) said to two of my friends, and it was this; That the Earle of Levens actions made not such a noyse in the world as these of Generall Lesley.

My Lord Sinclair stayd with his regiment in great scarcitie at the Neurie, till the next yeare 1643, and then fell dangerously sicke; being recoverd, he returnd to Scotland. In the time of his stay, we fingerd but litle moneys; and meale so sparinglie as seldome we could allow our sojors above a pound a day; for this reason, whenever we had intelligence where the rebells were with their cows, either my Lieutenant Colonell or I fought them out, with a partie of three or four hundred foot and some horse, in most of which litle expeditions we were successful, bringing in store of cows, with the flesh and milke wherof we much refreshed the decayed bodies and fainting spirits of not onlie our sojors, but of many of our officers also. Some losse of men sometimes we suffered, but seldome; many prisoners we tooke, on whom, if we did not set them at libertie, we bestowed some maintenance, but made them worke at our fortifications. Not one officer or sojour escaped sicknes, except the Lieutenant Colonell. About Januare 1643, I fell grievously sicke of ane Irish ague, which brought me to deaths doore, but it pleased God I recoverd.

In May, if I remember right, of the yeare 1643, Monro tooke the field with 1800 foot and tuo or three troops of horfe. When he came to Kirriotter, seven miles from the Neurie, he wrote to my Lord Sinclair to fend him 300 musketeers, and either his brother or me with them. Bot before this time, Owen Oneale, (who had beene Governor of Arras for the King of Spaine, and defended it gallantlie till he got honorable articles,) was comd to Ireland, and declared generall for Ulster, as Preston, (who had keepd out Gennep house against the Prince of Orange) was for Munster. Oneale haveing brought some armes amunition and officers from the Spanish Netherlands, had in a short time reduced many of the natives to a more civill deportment, and to a prettie good understanding of militarie discipline, and at that time was not farre off with a considerable part of ane armie. That night Monros messlage came to the Neurie, by my Lord Sinclars appointment I rode to him. I found him a bed, and shew him in what good posture Oneale was, which, as he confest, he knew not before ; bot it was not in my power to dissuade him from the opinion he had, that the Irish durst not stand and looke to him. After ane houres discourse with him, and the drinking halfe a dozen cups of sacke, I left him and returnd to the Neurie ; and immediatly marchd to Armagh, where the Major Generall had appointed me to meet him, which was fixteene miles. I had causd everie one of my sojors carry twelve shot a peece, and had besides on horsbacke a centner of powder, with ball and match ; for I had learnd of the Major Generall, that none of his men were provided with more then tuo or three shot ; a great fault in a generall, or in any man, to have an overweening opinion of himfelfe, and to undervalue his enemie. He gave me the vaun, in regard I had gone farre. We marchd from

Armagh foure miles further into the baronie of Loughgall, a very close countrey full of hedges and ditches. I had told the Major Generall, that undoubtedlie we wold find Oneale before us, and therfor desired that no horse should be permitted to goe before me, in regard they could doe no service in that countrey, but be ane hinderance to the foot. Yet Major Ballantine wold needs march before me; but at a place called Anachthamrie, which was Generall Oneals owne house, he was shamefullie chased backe upon me, two of his horsemen being killed, three hurt, and the rest exceedingly terrified. The road way being none of the broadest, and ditches on everie side, I was more troubled with these horsemen then I was with the Irish; but having made way for them as well as I could, I advanced towards the enemy, whom I could not see, he having sheltered himselfe with 1500 fixed musketeers in enclosures ditches and hedges; yet he made me quicklie know where he was, by a salvo of 4 or 500 shot he made at me, at which some of my men fell. I then made a stand, and lynd the hedges on all sides of me, constantly firing from them, and advancing still on the hie way, though verie leisurely. The bodie of Monros foot were a great deale farther behind me then either I thought, or Oneale fancied, otherwise. I suppose he wolde have left his post, as advantageous as it was, and advanced on me, being five to one against me. The dispute continued very hote about ane houre, and then Major Borthwick, since a colonell, and Captaine Drummond, since a lieutenant generall, came up with a great pace to my releefe, and endeavored to cut thorough the hedges, that they might march thorough the enclosures. Oneale perceaving his men beganne to looke over their shoulders, resolved rather to retire then flie; and so he did to Charlemont. Thither did also runne the most part of the countrey people, with neere

3000 cowes, all which we had got if we had purfued our victorie. Owens houfe was immediatlíe plunderd and burnt, and fo were many other fine houfes in that right pleafant countrey.

In this fkuſle, I loſt thretteene ſojors and a ſergant, all killd on the place, and about eighteene I had wounded ; neither my ſelfe or any other officer being hurt. The Irifh confeſd to have loſt about threſcore. Monro committed heere tuo faults ; firſt, for undervaluing his enimie ; nixt, for not purſueing him, after he had made him turne his backe ; for the diſappointment he met with did ſo quaille him, that he immediatlíe marchd back to Armagh, full foure miles : A third he added, in ſending, in the very time of the fight, a partie to the right hand to looke for cowes. There being ſome diſorder or indeed confuſion among the hedges, when Oneale retir'd and Monro marchd backe, many followd that partie that did not belong to it ; yea, ſo many, among whom were ſome of my 300, that when we came to encampe in encloſurs at Armagh late at night, our bodie, which at beſt was but litle, lookd exceeding weake and wearie too, and it was well the Irifh knew it not. Adjutant Generall Leſley ſomewhat unadvifedlíe ordaind me to be commander of the guards that night, never conſidering in what condition I was. After I had gone the great round, I found myſelfe ſo wearie after eight and threttie miles rideing and marching, beſides the toyle of the ſkirmiſh, haveing ſleepd none in 48 houres before, that I was forced to tumble myſelfe doune in my tent, recommending the guards to the Adjutant Generalls care ; which when the Major Generall did heare, he taxd the Adjutant of indifcretion, and undertooke the overſight of the guards himſelfe. Nixt day our ſcattering parties comeing in to us, we marchd to Tander gie, where Sir James Lockheart, purſueing ſome of the rebels in a

wood, was mortallie shot in the bellie, wherof he dyed nixt morning. We buried him in the Neurie, in as honorable a way as we could. After Monro had given my lord Sinclare a visite, he returnd to Craikfergus, and left us at the Neurie.

Some other marches he made that summer, in one wherof we encamped regularlie at Armagh, and fortified ourselvs; and from thence sent men to beseege Charlemont once more, bot all to no purpose. At this leager, the Marques, now Duke of Ormond, signified by a trumpet to us the cessation he had, by his Majesties appointment, concluded with the Irish for a yeare, and required Monro, in the kings name, to observe it. Bot he refusd to accept of it, because he had no order for it from his masters of Scotland. Heere was strange worke; a man not able to prosecute a warre, yet will not admit of a cessation. It cost us deare; for since the king's restoration, all our arrears were payd us, by telling us we were not in the kings pay, since we refused to obey his commands; and very justlie we were so served.

Towards the latter end of this yeare 1643, our guarrifon at the Neurie fell in extreame want of all manner of provifions, both for backe and bellie. For this reason, by Monros toleration, I had a meeting with ane Irish colonell, one Thurlo Oneale, sent by Sir Phelomey. We met at Kirriotter, each of us tuentie horfe, and after ane hours discourse, and the drinking some healths in Scotch aquavitie and Irish uskkiba, we concluded a cessation of armes with them for our oune guarrifon. Bot this did not supply our wants; for no monie came to the armie, either from England or Scotland, and very little meale came from Craigfergus to us. Wherfor my lieutenant colonell and I resolved that I should goe speedilie to Scotland, and procure ane order to the regiment to march

to the Airds and Clandeboy, there or somewhere else to quarter as the rest of the armie did ; and that immediatlie after I was gone, and that a ship with some meale which we hourlie expected was arrivd, he fould ship in his amunition, baggage and sicke men, and then march straight to the Clandeboy. The Neurie was to be deliverd to the English ; for I had gone to Dundalg, and agreed so with my Lord Moore. This was presentlie put in execution ; for I went to Craigfergus, and tooke my leave of the Major Generall, telling him dounright what my errand was to Scotland ; bot conceald from him the resolution, that the regiment should be with him before my returne.

At my coming to Scotland, in the beginning of the yeare 1644, I found the generall had marchd in the dead of winter into England, with ane armie of neere 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, to joyne by vertue of the solemne League and Covenant with the rebellious parliament of England, against our oune soveraigne lafull and native lord and king. I followd him on post horses, and found him hide bound at Newcastle ; for he was stopd there by the toune and river, so that he could not get farther fouth. I represented to him not onlie the condition of my Lord Sinclars regiment, bot of the whole Scots armie in Ireland so feelinglie, that he found himself obliged to relate it to the Committee of Estates, (wherof the Marquis of Argile was president, by appointment of the usurped parliament of Scotland.) I am calld before them, and to them I represented so passionatlie the miseries of that armie, that they paid ane act for the transportation of it to Scotland, provided the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh gave their joint consent. I got likewise ane order to approve our delivering the Neurie to the English. My Lord Sinclair is appointed to goe to Ireland with that order of transporta-



tion, and to see it put in execution ; I having assur'd the committee, that all the Scots armie wold be willing to leave Ireland, except perhaps the Major Generall, and a few others whose dissent, I said, wold not prove materiall.

Whill I was heere, I lookd upon the posture this armie of Scots (of which the parliament so much boasted) were in. I found the bodies of the men lustie, well clothd and well monneyd, bot raw, untrained and undisciplind ; their officers for most part young and unexperienced. They had divided themselvs in severall bodies, and in severall quarters, everie one or any one of which might with a resolute sally been easilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the rest would have runne. There was fixe thousand men of Newcastle's armie within the toune, and Lieut. Generall King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admird then, nor could I wonder enough since, that he never endeavourd to give his countrey-men a visite. He was a person of great honor ; bot what he had favd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he made shipwracke of much of it, he losd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to possesse themselves of a passe on that river for their retreat, so much did they trust to their oune valour and successe. Whill I was there, they indeavord one night to bring boats from the glasse houses, or above them, to the river, and so to make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces shoud fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee sent over Colonell Steuart, with 1200 foot, to stand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a litle narrow bridge to passe in their goeing and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen stoutlie out of the toune on them, they had killd and tane them everie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opi-

nion, which was seconded by others, askd Deare Sandie, Sir James Lumfdaine and myfelfe, what was best to be done. We were unanimous that false alarums should be given about the whole town, to divert the enemy from falling too strong upon Steuart, for the townes utter guards of horse had certified them within of his approach. I was sent with this message to the Generall, whom I found going to supper. When I returned, I was ashamed to relate the answer of that old Capitaine ; which was, that he feared the brightness of the night (for it was moonshine) would discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him, the moonshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it would hinder the matches to be seen ; for the more lunts were seen, the better for a false alarme. However, the alarums were made in severall places, which were taken so hotly where I was beside the workmen, that though I called often to them, it was our own people, yet some great persons, whom I will not name, called eagerly for their horses, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, because it was neep tide, and Steuart returned safely, to the great disgrace of these within. The Scots got over the river afterward, and by peccable made Newcastle's armie almost as strong as their own, and farre better fojors, moulder away, and the relicks of it take sanctuary within the walls of Yorke. Such was the Kings sad fate, and the infatuated stupidity of these under him. I have often made myfelfe merrie with that nights worke, first to consider how the Committee of Estates, especially their president Argile, who was a good seaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats : secondly, how they adventured to face a town wherein there was fixe thousand horse and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to re-

treate : thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent anfuer to my message ; fourthlie, to see men affrayd at their owne shadow, men runne away for ane allarme themselves had cauld make ; and for a farce to the play, to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters, vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreat he had made without the losse of a man, when there was not so much as a foot boy pursueing him.

My Lord Sinclair and I went post to Scotland, where we found my Lord Chancellour and the Committee of Estates there very averse from that transportation, fearing the bad consequences of it. Whill things are a debateing, my Lord Sinclars regiment lands at Portpatrik. The Laird of Lauiers regiment follows, and after him the Earle of Lothians ; so wold all the rest, bot they wanted shipping. The occasion was this. After I had left Ireland, my Lieutenant-Colonell haveing ressavd some supply of meale, shipd in tuo field peeces, his amunition, his baggage, sicke men, and all the meale except so much as the sojors carried on their backs, and marchd by land to the Airds, haveing deliverd the Neurie with the castle to these were appointed to ressave it by the Marques of Ormond, lieutenant of Ireland, as we had formerlie agreed to doe. Upon this the field officers of the whole Scots armie met at Craigfergus, and seeing no appearance of my returne, unanimouslie concluded to goe all over to Scotland ; and because they had not vessells enough for all, sent these three regiments first away. This alarumd the Committee at Edenburgh exceedingly. They dispatch my Lord Sinclair west to see the regiments well quarterd, no hurt to be done to the countrey, bot most of all, that the Covenant ressavd no prejudice. I went post with my Lord to Aire, where we found our regiment.

The Committee haveing well considerd the danger might ensue, if the

other seven regiments came to Scotland, send Sir Frederick Hammilton and the Laird of Lauiers over to Ireland, with ten thousand pounds sterline, and seven thousand futes of clothes for the sojors, and some private instructions, to conjure them to remaine in their old duellings; to which the officers consented, notwithstanding the oath of their Mutuall Assurance, which was then broke and cancelld with as much formalitie, bot with a great deal of more reason, then it was made.

Thus was I at toyle and trouble enough for the space of two yeares in Ireland, haveing got no more in the employment then what maintaind me. Yet I had a purchase in it of that I value more then any worldlie riches, that was of my deare wife, Mary White, with whom I was first acquainted and then enamourd at the Neurie. She was comd of very good parents; her father being the second sonne of a knight, and her mother of ane other good familie of the Whites. She was thought by others, much more by me, to be of a good beautie. For the qualities of her mind, I have had such experience of them as they have renderd me happie amidst all the afflictions hath befallen me since. I did not then marry her, because at that time she was tenacious of the Roman Catholick perswasion, which was verie hatefull to our leading men of Scotland; neither indeed, in the condition wherein I was then, could I maintaine her in any good fashon.

The Marques of Huntley makeing some bustling in the north, thogh to litle purpose, the Committee orders my Lord Sinclars regiment to march to Stirline, and Lothians to St Jonston; that of Lauiers lay in countrey villages. I had then lookd a litle more narroulie in the justice of the cause wherin I servd then formerly I used to doe, and found I had done well enough in my engaggement against the bloodie

rebells in Ireland. Bot the new Solemné League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Estates requird an absolute submiffion) fummond all my thoughts to a serious confultation ; the refult wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treachèrous and difloyall combination againft lauffull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians (who were well enough principld, and had got good information of the defignes of the prime covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, E. of Glencairne,) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter firft to my Lieutenant Colonell, and then to my Lord Sinclare. All of us thought it our duetie to doe the King all the fervice we could againft his ungracious fubjects ; and therefore refolv'd not to take the Covenant, bot to joyne with the Marques of Montroffe, who had the Kings commiffion. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Estates, till we got one thoufand pound, and tuo hundreth fterline money for each regiment, and a fute of cloths for everie fojor. The Committee preff'd much the figning of the covenant, with many letters, meffages, and meffengers. We wav'd it with many pecious pretences ; efpeciallie we defird fixe weeks time to advice with our confciences, a thing they had granted to all other fubjectes ; hopeing before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to fpeake plainer language.

Meane while my Lieutenant Colonell and I had our feveral confultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Mederdie, and Laird of Keir, all of them very loyall perfons, with whom we concluded it was fit to fend tuo, one from them and another from us, to Montroffe, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirline, where he fould find caftle, toune and regiment at his devotion, and St Jonfton likewise. And leaft he might

thinke we meant not honnestlie, in regard there had been no good understanding betueene him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece the Ladie Keir sent him a well knowne token with Harie Steuart, who was the man we sent, and this he reffayed. The messenger they sent was young Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterward. I beleeeve he got not to him. Bot Montrosse haveing a litle too soone enterd Scotland, and met with a ruffle neere Drumfreis, and upon it retired to England, it seems he thought it not safe with so inconsiderable troops to hazard so farre as to Sterline, perhaps not giving full trust to our promises; and most, because the Committee had appointed a second levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the E. of Callander, who with the deepest oathes, even wishing the supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he should engage under these or with these Covenanters, had perswaded me in his owne house of Callander, and upon a Lords day too, that he would faithfullie serve the King;—I say, by Montrosse his neglect, and Calanders perfidie, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wished to doe the King service. For if that levie had bene suppressed, as very soone it should, and Montrosse have come to Stirline, and joynd with our two regiments, as easilie he might, he would with the assistance of Huntley in the north, and these Irish who soone after came over from Antrum, have reduced Scotland without bloodshed to their dutie and obedience, or els the Scots armie had bene forced to have left England, and marched home to oppose us; upon whose retreat, it was more than probable most of England would have embraced the Kings interest; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the English parliaments interest. Bot the inauspicious fate

and difastrous destinie of the incomparablie good King wold not have it to be so.

A litle before this, Sir George Monro, Colonell Hammilton, and some other officers of the armie in Ireland, had comd over to deale with the Committee of Estates for their oune maintenance, and E. Calander requiring an adjutant generall for his new forces from the Committee, they fought the opinion of these officers, who they thought sufficient for that employment. They were all pleasd to name me to be the man fitting for it; upon which ane act of Committee was made, without acquainting me with it; that I should have that charge, and continue likewise major as I was. This offer being made to me when I expected Montrosse, and was with good reason dissatisfied with Calander, I refused it, pretending I could not undergoe both charges. It was given to Major Douglas, a sonne of the Sheriffe of Teviotdail, who was afterwards a colonell, and killed at Worcester fight. Notwithstanding of all this, Calander did not give over to give me all imaginable assurances that he wold act for the King, and that the greater pouer he was invested with, the more vigoroullie and vigilantlie wold he shew himselfe active and loyall for his Majestie. This put me in some hopes I might be instrumentall under him to doe the King some service. Withall, I knew I was vehementlie suspected by the Committee of Estates, and if I had denuded myselfe of all imployment, which was my greatest securitie, I had runne the hazard of imprisonment, if not worse; for now they had declared the supream pouer to be in themselves, and therefore all was acted against them must be no better then treason. Upon these grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marchd into England, and I with them, and made a fashion (for indeed it was

no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing, (thogh too much practis'd in a corrupt world) yet in it selfe dishonest, finfull and disavoueable; for it is certaine that no evill shoud be done that good may come of it; neither did any good at all come of this, for Calander all along provd true to his own interest and gaine, and false to the Kings, never laying hold on any opportunitie whereby he might, with small difficultie, have done his Majestie signall service. After he enterd England, I wold have undertaken to have made most of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forcd these who wold not to fly from the armie. Upon this Northumberland and Bishopricke (whose gentrie was still loyall,) wold have risen with us; and thogh shortly after that Prince Rupert was beaten at Longmeston mure, yet he haveing brought away neere 4000 horse with him, we wold have beene able to have made him up a gallant armie. Bot *non voluere fata*.

Having cross'd Tyne at Neuburne, Calander invests Newcastle on the other side of the river; haveing first got assurance that the Prince was defeated at Long Meston by Generalls Leven, Manchester and old Fairfaxe, all which three had shamefullie left the field and fled; but Leven fled furthest, for he did not draw bridle till he was at Wedderbie, four and twentie miles from the place of battell. There was reason he shoud take the start of the other tuo, because he had furthest home. Calander lys doune before Hertipoolé, a very tenable litle sea toune, wherin was a garrison of 300 men for the King, and had it unworthilie yeelded to him without stroake of suord by Sir Edmund Carew; and Stokton Castle likewise, before which not one man of ours had appeared, for which he was afterward questiond.



A litle before harveft in this yeare 1644, Leven came with all his armie and befeegd Newcastle on Northumberland fide; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he haveing foolifhlie refufed articles, which he might have made at his pleafure, the toune was taken by ftorme, with no great loffe on our fide, and with very litle bloodfhed of the royalifts. My Lord Sinclars regiment were the firft that entered the toune, the firft partie of them of tuo hundreth being led by my felfe, being very well feconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my Captains, Sinclare, foolifhlie running contrar to my command ftraight to the market place, was ther killd. It was well for thefe of that fide within the toune that we enterd fo foone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant Colonell and I cleering the wall all along till the nixt port; there we tooke tuentie gentlemen on horfeback, and 200 foot fojors, and fo made eafie way for my Lord Leviftons, now E. of Lithgows brigade, and Lieutenant Generall Baillies to enter, being before pitifullie beate of; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approches our regiment loft very prettie men, bot in the ftorme onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (wherof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters. Whill we befeege Newcastle, Calander is fent with fome regiments to Scotland to oppofe Montroffe, who, with a handfull of Irifh very ill armed, had beaten the Lord Elcho and his armie at Tippermure. Calander ftayd not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better lucke than Elcho, for beaten they were by Montroffe at Aberdeene, and the third time at Innerlochie, where Argile faved himfelfe foone enough.

Nixt fummer of the yeare 1645, Montroffe did thefe feats which hath

renderd his name immortall. Against him were severall regiments sent the second time from the armie in England. With the rest Leven marcheth southward; and at Nottingham, some well meaning officers of the armie made a motion to present a petition to the King, according to the laudable custome of both the first and the second Covenanters, before we enterd in any act of hostilitie against him. This had given a stop to the advance of our armie, which the English royalists so much feared. I was desir'd to draw the petition, which after some refuseall, (apprehending Calanders jugling,) I at length did. But he not onlie refus'd to signe it himselfe, but to let the Committee see it, (without whom it could not be sent to the King) thogh never so many officers wold subscribe it. And so these honest officers were deceav'd and abus'd, as I had fortold them. On our march to Gloucestershire, we had the sad news of the Kings overthrow at Nasebie, after which never any of his forces made a stand. Whill the Scots army invests Hereford, news comes that Montrose had gain'd the battell of Killfryth, so entirelie that all the covenanting Lords were fled to Berwick. Lieutenant Generall Lesley upon this is sent away to Scotland, with most of the cavallerie, to oppose successfull Montrose, whom he had the good fortune, as he thought it, to beate at Philiphaugh; where Major Generall Middleton, now Earle, was very active against, thogh since very active for the King. After some weeks stay at the siege of Hereford, upon a rumour of the Kings approach with some forces, we broke up and march'd north, and that harvest quarterd in Yorkshire; and in the beginning of winter, help'd the English forces to blocke up Newark on Trent, from whence a litle before his Majestie was gone with 500 horse to Oxford. Heere old Generall Leven left us and went to Neu-

castle, forced therto by order of the Parliament of Scotland. I am very fure, fore against his will he parted with a command wherby he could have put aboundance of money in his pocket, which Lieutenant Generall David Lesley could not choose bot doe. We past that winter with very much cold, bot very litle bloodshed; bot so did they not at St Andreus, where the pretended parliament dyed some scaffolds very red, with the loyall blood of many of his Majesties faithfull subjects.

In the summer of the yeare 1646, the Kings fate driveing him on to his neere approching end, he cast himself in the Scots armes at Neuwarke. There did E. Lothian, as president of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperioullie require his Majestie (before he had either drunke, refreshed, or reposed himselfe,) to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Neuwarke to the Parliaments forces, to signe the Covenant, to order the establishment of presbyterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Grahame, (for so he called Great Montrosse) to lay doune armes; all which the King stoutlie refused; telling him that he who had made him an Earle had made James Grahame a Marques. Barbaroullie used he was, strong guards put upon him, and centinells at all his windows, that he should cast over no letters; and at length Neuwarke by his order being given up, he is carried with a very speedie march to Newcastle, where he was well enough guarded. At Sherburne I spoke with him, and his Majestie haveing got some good character of me, bade me tell him the sence of our armie concerning him. I did so, and withall assured him he was a prisoner, and therefor prayd him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could doe him. He seemd to be well-

pleased with my freedome, and the griefe I had for his condition; bot our conversation was interrupted very uncivillie (for I was in the roome alone with his Majestie) by Lieutenant Generall Lesleys command, wherein he made use of tuo whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and I hope the other hath repented; neither was I ever permitted afterward to speake with him; yet he namd me, as one of five fitting to carry his commands to Montrosse, bot the Committee made choyce of a man by Lothians persuation, fitter for their purpose. Most of that winter, till neere Candlemas, was spent in quarters, which were allotted us in some places of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland all over; meane time goes Argile to London.

When I perceavd things in this troublesome condition, not knowing what might be the issue, whether I might not be necessitated to fly beyond seas, (for the Committee and Generall entertaind very ill thoughts of me,) and not daring to goe to Irland, least they shoud thinke I went about more serious affaires, I sent and desird her who was to be my wife, to be at the trouble to come to England to me, which she willinglie did. This both shew her affection to me, and the trust she reposed in mine; leaveing her parents, her friends, countrey and all that was deare to her, upon my word. And indeed she found me but in a bad condition, and it was well it was no worse; for haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great person, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was some animositie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horse; drinke prevailing over my reason, I forced him to draw his suord, which was tuo great handfulls longer then mine. This I perceiving, gripd his suord with my left hand, and thrust at him with my right; bot he stepping

backe avoyded it, and drew his fuord away, which left so deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formost finger, that I had almost losd the use of both, unles I had beene well cured. Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The passengers parted us ; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I fought him farre and neere. This was ane effect of drinking, which I confesse, beside the sinne against God, hath brought me in many inconveniences. This was the first time ever my blood was draune, though I have hazarded it and my life very often, not onlie in battells, skirmishes, rencounters, sieges, sallies, and other publick duties of service, bot also in severall private duells. I was not well recoverd, when she I lovd best came to England. Shortlie after, we were married at Hexame, in presence of ane honourable companie, on the tenth of November, 1646. Many sad storms and blafts of adversitie hath she patientlie stood out with me since, and both of us have reason to blesse our good God, who hath graciouslie deliverd us out of them all.

In Februaire 1647, the Committee haveing receaved 200,000lb. sterline, for the arrears of the armie (for so it was calld), the King is shamefullie deliverd over to the Commissioners of the two Houses of England, and that by a vote too of the Parliament of Scotland, to the eternall disgrace of the whole nation. He is first carried to Holmbie House ; and after the armie had chaced the eleven Presbiterian members of the House of Commons beyond seas, they take his Majestie to Hampton Court, and after many jugling tricks of Cromwell, he is carried to Carisbrok Castle in the Isle of Wight, out of which he never came till he was led to his arraignment. The Scotch armie marcheth to Scotland and is modelled in seven regiments of foot, thretteene troops of horse, and

three companies of dragoons. All the rest are disbanded. My Lord Sinclars regiment is orderd to goe backe to Ireland. They - - - by the way at Peebles, and some runne away. Quarters are appointed for them, and E. Lothians regiment in Galloway, till I went over to Ireland, to try whether Monro and his officers (for that armie was then governd by a councill of officers, wherof the Major Generall was president,) wold make us welcome or not, I found the coast guarded with fojors to barre our landing, which I lookd on as a bad omen. At my comeing to Craigfergus, the officers are calld together. I deliverd them a letter from the Scots Parliament, and endeavord to perswade them to reslave us as antient members of their bodie; telling them that we were to bring such provifions with us, that we sould not be burthenfome to them. Bot I harangud them in vaine, for I found, thogh they wold not speake it dounright, they wold not admit us at all; for thogh they had beene well beate by Owen Oneale the yeare before, yet they fancied they sould then receave ten thousand pounds sterline for everie regiment, and they thought if our tuo regiments joynd with them, we might occasion a diminution of the sounge. Upon my returne, and the burthen Galloway had of us, order comes to us from the Committee of Estates, to disband, which was accordinglie done. This was the end of my Lord Sinclars regiment, which indeed was composed of prettie men, stout and loyall, both officers and fojors, to which I had beene ferjeant major full five yeares.

Shortlie after, Lieutenant Generall Lesley having reduced the North to the obedience of the Committee of Estates, by takeing all Huntleys houfes, and chaceing himselfe and his party to their hieland shelters, marched south, being to goe into Kintire. I met him at Dumblaine,

where he, the late Marques of Argile, and Major Generall Holburne, easilie perswaded me to accept of the Adjutant Generalls place of the armie, then vacant; for indeed I thought it duetie to fight against these men who first had diserted their Generall Montrosse, as E. Aboine and Sir Alaister Macdonnald had done when he stood most in need of them, which mainlie had occasioned his irreparable losse at Philipshauch; and nixt had absolutlie refusd to lay down armes at the Kings ounge command, carried to them by Sir James Lesley. I was necessitated to stay for some baggage a day or tuo, and thereafter met the armie at Inverrary, Argiles chiefe house. From thence we marchd to Kintire, which is a peninsull. Both before and at the entrie to it, there were such advantages of ground, that our foot, for mountains and marshes, could never have draune up one hundreth in a bodie, nor our horse above three in breast; which if Sir Alaister had prepossest with these thousand or 1200 brave foot which he had with him, I think he might have routed us, at least we shoud not have enterd Kintire bot by a miracle. Bot he was ordaind for destruction; for by a speedie march we made ourselves masters of these difficell passes, and got into a plaine countrey, where no sooner he saw our horse advance, but with little or no fighting he retir'd; and if the Lieutenant Generals foot had been with him to have given the enemy a salve or tuo, which would have disorderd him, I beleieve none of them had escaped from our horse. Alaister, like a foole, (for no sojour he was, though stout enough,) put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill, calld Dunavertie, environd with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds. Then leaveing Kintire he went to Yla, where he playd just such ane other mad prank, leaveing his old father, commonlie

called Coll Kettoch, with neere 200 men in a castle, called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. The rest of his men he carried with him to Ireland, (ane excellent Generall Major) where he was killd in a battell fought by those with whom he joynd against my Lord Taffe, now Earle of Carlingford. We beseege Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded tuo stripes of water. This we did take in the assault. Fortie of them were put to the suord. We losd five or fixe, with Argiles Major. After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley. I was orderd to speake with them; neither could the Lieutenant Generall be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they shoud yeeld on discretion or mercy; and it seemd strange to me to heare the Lieutenant Generalls nice distinction, that they shoud yeeld themselves to the kingdomes mercy, and not to his. At length they did so; and after they were comd out of the Castle, they were put to the suord, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I begd, to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had smoakd out of a cave, as they doe foxes, who were given to Capitaine Cambell, the Chancellors brother.

Heere it will be fit to make a stop till this cruell action be canvassd. First, the Lieutenant Generall was tuo days irresolute what to doe. The Marques of Argile was accusd, at his arraignment, of this murther, and I was examin'd as a witnes. I depond, that which was true, that I never heard him advice the Lieutenant Generall to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was bot a Colonell there; and so had no pouer to doe it of himselfe. Thirdlie, thogh he had advisd him to it, it was no capitall crime; for councell is no com-



mand. Fourthlie, I have severall times spoke to the Lieutenant Generall to save these mens lives, and he allways assented to it ; and I know of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr Johne Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the kirke to waite on him as his chaplaine,) never ceas'd to tempt him to that bloodshed ; yea and threatened him with the curses befell Saull for spareing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verilie beleieve that this prevaild most with David Lesley, who lookd upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. Lastlie, there is no doubt bot the Lieutenant Generall might legallie enough, without the least transgression of either the custome, practife, or law of warre, or his oune commission, have usd them as he did ; for he was bound by no article to them, they haveing submitted themselves absolutlie to his discretion. It is true, on the other hand, *summum jus, summa injuria* ; and in such cases, mercy is the more christian, the more honourable, and the more ordinarie way in oure warres in Europe. Bot I reallie beleieve, advise him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times since, and even very soone after the doing it.

From Kintire we went by sea to Yla, and immediatlie invested Dunneveg. I must remember, by the way, that we carried bot about fourscore horses with us after we left Kintire, the rest of the troopes being left in Lorne, under the command of Colonell Robert Montgomerie, since Generall Major, who blockd up the house of belonging to Mackoull in Lorne, whose clan was, as I said, extirpated very neere at Dunavertie. Dunneveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water, came to a parley. I am appointed to treat with one Captaine

Oneale and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the house on the Lieutenant Generalls word. Life was promised to them ; all the officers to goe where they pleased ; the souldiers to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclair my old Lieutenant Colonell. The articles I saw couchd in writing and signd by both Argile and Lesley. This capitulation was faithfullie observed. A little skurvie ile in the end of Yla was kept by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. Bot before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man Coll, coming foolisshlie out of the house, where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speake with his old friend the Captaine of Dunstaffage Castle, was surprisid and made prisoner, not without some stain to the Lieutenant Generalls honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argiles sheriff depute, one George Cambell, from whose sentence few are said to have escapd that kind of death.

From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horride ile, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beafts ; and so from ile to ile till we came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Heere MacLaine savd his lands with the losse of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his strong castles to Lesley, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchristian basenes in the lowest degree, he deliverd up fourteene very prettie Irishmen, who had beene all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant Generall, who immediatlie causd hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from MacLaine, bot inexcusable ill done of him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, fleshd in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence presd that all the whole clan of MacLaine should be put to the edge of the sword ; nor

would he be commanded to forbear his bloody fute by the Lieutenant Generall and the two Generall Majors, and with some difficultie was he commanded silence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile. For my part I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his fute, the deliverie of the Irish had so much irritated me against the whole name. As we were going to Mull, Major Generall, since E. Middleton, (who had with two regiments of foot and some troops of horse ruined the relicks of Huntleys partie,) came to us. With him I had some conferences concerning the Kings condition, who at that time was at Hampton Court. Then first I found he beganne in earnest to oune his Majesties interest. Great jealousies there were then of all parties both in England and Scotland. Argile and Leslie thought fit to separate me from Middleton, and so sent me to Edinburgh to give the Estates an account of our successes, and to desire quarters to be provided for the armie against our descent to the low countrey. Thither I went, and after Leslie had taken in an old castle in Knoggard or Moggart, I know not which, I met him on his march to Stirline, ten miles on the other side of that towne, bringing with me the quarters ordered for the severall regiments and troops; which being divided, every one went straight to his owne.

The Committee of Estates, and consequentlie the visible soveraigne power of Scotland at that time, is divided between the Duke Hamilton and the Marques of Argile. The last kept stronglie by the church, and had it for him; and for feare that did not his turne, he kept the armie, at least Leven and David Leslie for him, as knowing, *omnia sunt gladii pedisequa*. Yet the Hamiltons had gained much on Middleton, who had a strong influence on the armie. Hamilton, to beat Argile out of his strongest fortresse, propounds the dif-

banding the armie as very ufeles now, and which was worfe, very burthensome, all the enemies of the state being rangd to their duetie. This was not onlie a plaufible pretext, bot ane unanfuerable argument ; bot marke the reply of the other partie. “ Never fo great danger as now ; the Kings person, which they were bound to defend by the oath of their Covenant (obferve, there was no former ty on them,) being in the hands of the Independents, who were fuorne enemies to his sacred person and to prefbiterie, and carying now all things before them in the English Parliament, were become very formidable.” So impudentlie could thefe hipocrites make ufe of the fafetie of the King, to fupport their power, by the ufurpation wherof they had brought him to that low condition, and whose deftruction they ftill defignd. To this they adde a ridiculouffie palpable ly, that the Marques of Huntley was ftrong and marching fouthward, waxd numerous, and to ufe their oune words, grew great like a fnow ball ; that poore Marques, in the meane time, hideing himfelfe in holes and caves, out of which he is about that fame time draune, and carried to Edenburgh and caft in the tollbooth, out of which he never came till he was brought to a scaffold, The matter of the armies difbanding is referd to the meeting of a great Committee, whose members are fummond by Argile and the kirk to come from the remotest places of the kingdome, and when they meet, they vote the armie to ftand. By this favour they obliged many officers, to eafe the kingdome forfooth, to quite a third part of their pay voluntarilie ; for which fimplicities the kirk cryd them up for good patriots ; and this was enough to put thefe fimpletons in the full poffeffion of a fools paradise.

Bot before all this was done, E. Lainrick, brother to Duke Hamil-

ton is made one of these commissioners which they called the Committee of both kingdoms. The Chancellor and he went to London, and from thence, by the Parliaments permission, to the Ile of Wight, where they had severall conferences with his Majestie. Many concessions they obtained from him against Poperie, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Libertinisme, Eraftianisme, and I know not what els, and many promises they made to him, and so returned to Scotland. A Parliament is called, which either consisted of the royall or purlie Hammiltonian partie; Argiles being the least of the three, the election of the members was so dexterously carried. But in the Commission of the Kirke, Argile carried all before him. And now the scene is changed. The King is in no danger; the Parliament of England, though independent, and Scotland are good friends; they must not fall out; the union of the two kingdoms must be preserved; the King in his concessions had not taken away Prelacie, and therefore all the rest of his grants were hypocriticall; neither were the Scots bound to defend his person by vertue of the Covenant; but in the defence of the true religion, which, according to their gloss, is presbiteriall government; and therefore no armie must be raised for his releasment or restoration, onlie the English Parliament would be desired to suffer them to treat with the King, whose person, according to promise, should be kept in honor, freedom and safetie. Heere yow see ane armie necessary and not necessary, for one and the same cause. Yow will thinke that strange, but I will unriddle yow. Necessary for the Kings defence, and to withstand the power of the Independents, so long as old Leven and David Leslie commanded it; not necessary for these or any other causes, if Duke Hamilton and Earle Calander had the conduct of it. Whether the great sommes of money the English Commissioners brought

with them, had an influence on the leading men of the state, the kirk and the armie, Sir James Stewart, once Provost of Edinburgh, yet alive, can well enough tell. This rent betweene the usurped state and the usurped kirk, was the first step to the ruine of the whole designe of the yeare 1648 ; for in the time of this furious dif . . . . our levies were retarded, and time given to Fairfaxe and Cromwell to destroy all the Kings partie in England. At length the raising of an armie is carried in spite of Argile and the kirk. Duke Hammilton is declar'd Generall ; E. Calander, (who once more appear'd to owne the Kings interest,) Lieutenant Generall of the armie ; Middletone Lieutenant Generall of the horse, and Baillie of the foot.

Bot before this was done, a petition is draune up by Argile and his friends, (the Chancellor playing fast and loose with both parties,) which is call'd the petition of the armie, which was to secure religion (for these were the kirks words) and the kingdome of Christ, before any forces were rais'd for the Kings releasment. It is sign'd privatlie by Leven, Da. Leslie, Major Generall Holburne, Sir Johnne Broun, Colonell Scot and some others, and then presented publiklie to the rest of us, thinking we could not, being sojors, refuse to follow our leaders. Bot they found themselves mistaken ; for Major Generall Middletone, and the honest part of the officers of the armie told them, that such a petition, which look'd so like mutinie, could not be presented to the Parliament without incurring the dishonour which Fairfaxe, his armie had draune upon it selfe, to impose on the Parliament of England. To oppose this petition, Middletone was pleas'd to make use of me ; neither was I, indeed, unwilling to contribute all my endeavors for the destruction of a paper which, if it had bene red, wold have spoke with

fo loud a voyce, that many of the members, who were bot indifferent, wold have spoke Argiles language very plainlie. The busienes was fo handled that it was never presented.

Innumerable allmoſt were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdome, againſt the raiſing of forces for his Majeſties releaſement. Glaſgow being a conſiderable toun, was moſt refractorie to this Parliament; for Mr Dick, whom they lookd upon as a patriarch, Mr Baillie, Mr Gilleſpie and Mr Durhame, all mightie members of the kirk of Scotland, had preachd them to a perfite diſobedience of all civill power, except ſuch as was authoriſd by the Generall Aſſembly and Commiſſion of the Kirk; and ſo indeed was the whole weſt of Scotland, who cryd up King Chriſt, and the kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt, therby meaning the uncontroullable and unlimited dominion of the then kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had deliverd over his ſcepter, to governe his militant church as they thought fit. For this reaſon, I am ſent to Glaſgow to reduce it to obedience, with three troops of horſe, and Holburns regiment of foot, which a litle before that had mutind in the Links of Lieth; (their colonell, lieutenant colonell, and all their captains haveing deſerted them,) bot the mutinie was with ſome difficultie compeſcd by myſelfe, and that regiment brought by me the length of Cramond, in its march to Glaſgow. In Glaſgow were many honneſt and loyall men, the prime wherof wer the Cambells and the Bells; and indeed I had good helpe of Coline Cambell, James Bell and Bayliſſe James Hamilton. At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill; for I ſhortlie learnd to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers, and halfe a dozen muſketeers, was ane argument ſtrong enough, in two or three nights time, to make

the hardest headed Covenanter in the toune to forsake the kirk, and side with the Parliament. I came on the friday, and nixt day sent to Mr Dick, and desired him and his brethren to say nothing nixt day in their pulpits that might give me just reason to disturbe the peace of the church. In the forenoone he spoke us very faire, and gave us no occasion of offence; but in the afternoone he transgressed all limits of modestie, and raild malitieously against both King and Parliament. This obliged me to command all my officers and sojors to goe presentlie out of the church, because I neither could nor would suffer any under my command to be witnesses of a misdemeanor of that nature. At the first Dick was timorous, and promised if I would stay, he would give me satisfaction; but I told him I would trust him no more, since he had broke his promise made in the forenoone. Seeing I intended no worse but to remove, he continued his sermon, and nixt day went to Edinburgh to complaine; but sent one that same night to make his grievance to the Duke, who was comd the day before to his palace of Hammilton. Thither I went nixt morning. His Grace approved of all I had done; and there was reason for it; because I had done nothing but by his owne order, and his brother E. Lainricks advice. This was that great and well neere inexpressible sinne which I committed against the sacred soveraigntie of the kirk; for which all members were so implacable and irreconcilable enemies to me afterward.

Finding my Glasgow men groune prettie tame, I tenderd them a short paper, which whoever signed I promised should be presentlie eased of all quartering. It was nothing but a submission to all orders of Parliament, agreeable to the Covenant. This paper was afterward by some merrie men christend Turners Covenant. It was quicklie signed



by all, except some inconsiderable persons; and so soone as Duke Hamilton had causd read my letter in Parliament, and the signd papers sent to the Clarke Register, I was orderd to march to Renfrew, to reduce that shire to obedience. I left the Generall of the Artilleries regiment, which was not very strong, at Glasgou, and marchd with my owne (for the Parliament had given me that of Holburns, and my Lord Duke had placd me himselfe at Glasgou) and eleven troops of horse; for still as they were levied in the east, they were sent west to me. I lay at Paislay myselfe with my regiment, and quarterd my troopes round about. Bot the people from severall parishes came so fast to me, offering their obedience to the Parliament, that I knew not well how to quarter my present men, much lesse these troops, and Calanders regiment, which were on their march westward.

Meantime a pettie rebellion must be usherd in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredest misteries of it, even the celebration of our Lords supper; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Savieours sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated, and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church; so handsomelie, I say, could these hypocrits make it the simbole of warre, and bloody broyles. Whill I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlin church, to pertake wherof all good people are permitted to come; bot because the times were, forsooth, dangerous, it was thought fit all the men shoud come armed. Nixt Monday, which was their thanksgiveing day, there were few lesse to be seene about the church then tuo thousand armed men, horse and foot. I had got some intelligence of the designe before, and had acquainted the Duke with it; who orderd me expresse not to

sturre till Calander and Middletones coming ; who accordinglie on the Saturday before the communion came to Glasgou, where I met them, and then went straight forward to Paflay. A rendezvous is appointed by Calander to be of horse and foot at Steuarton hill nixt Monday. From thence Lieut. General Middleton is sent with fixe troopes of horse to Machlin moore, where the armed communicants were said to be. I intreated my Lord Calander (bot to no purpose) not to divide, bot rather march with all his forces, then hazard the overthrow of a few, which might endanger the whole. We advanced with the rest, as the foot could march ; bot it was not long before we heard that the communicants had refused to goe to their houses ; and having reffaved a briske charge of Middletons forlorne hope, had worsted it ; and that himselfe and Colonell Urrey comeing up to the rescue, were both wounded in the heade ; which had so appalld their troopes, that if they losfd no ground, they were glad to keepe what they had, and looke upon the faints. These unexpected news made Calander leave my regiment at Kilmarnock, and take his horse with him up to Middleton. I intreated him to march at least at a great trot, if not at a gallope ; bot he would be more orderlie, and therefor marchd more sloulie. We met numbers of boys and bedees, weeping and crying all was lost ; bot at our appearance the flashing communicants left the field, the horse trulie untouchd, because not fiercelie pursued. About fixtie of their foot were taken, and five officers. The ministers that came in our power, who had occasiond the mischief, were nixt day dismissed. Nixt day we marchd into Aire, where a court of warre is appointed to be keepd about the prisoners. The country fellows of them are pardoned ; the officers sentenced to be hanged or shot ; bot thereafter were par-

dond ; to which I was very instrumentall, thogh I had bene president in the court of warre. Lieutenant Generall Middletons wound, and Colonel Urreys sufferd them to ride abroad within foure or five days. We knew not well what to doe, for Lambert was on the Border with a strong part of the English armie, and in a manner keepd Sir Marmaduke Langdail blockd up at Carlile. Our west countrey was not at all settled, bot very readie for new commotions. Upon this E. Calander desires a conference with the Duke, who then was at Edinburgh, to be at his owne house of Hamilton, to which the Duke readily assented.

I had left my wife at Glasgow, and therfor desired libertie to goe there, and bid her good night, and accordingly went thither. Within two nights came E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middleton, and with them I went to Hammilton, takeing my leave of my deare wife, whom I did not see againe till she saw me prisoner at Hull.

At Hammilton, we could not bot with much regret and displeasure consider, that Sir Marmaduke and his Lieutenant Generall Sir Philip Musgrave, both gentlemen of untainted loyaltie and gallantrie, had not onlie unseasonable, and contrare to the advices given them, raisd above 3000 foot and horse, bot had marchd with them into Lancashire, and therby had given a just pretext to the Parliament to send Lambert with a more considerable power, to give a stop to their further proceedings ; which he did so vigorously, that Langdale was glad to shelter himselfe under the walls of Carlile. This exposd him to a certaine and present ruine, unles he were succourd. To marche to his reliefe, were to leave the halfe of our forces in Scotland unleavied, and an enemy behind our hand, ourselves in a very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or amunition ; to suffer him to perish was

againſt honor, conſcience, and the reaſon both of ſtate and warre. It wold have given our enemies occaſion to inſult ; wold have brought the Dukes honor (rudlie enough dealt with [by] ſome before) to an ever-laſting loſſe, and wold have given ſuch juſt apprehenſions of jealousies to the royaliſts in England, that never one of them wold have joynd with us, or ound us. The further debate of this buſienes is delayd till the Duke, Calander and Middletone went to Edenburgh to adviſe with the Committee of Eſtates, for the Parliament was then diſſolv'd. Bot in the meane time Colonell Lockheart is ſent to command ſome brigads of horſe at Anan, and I orderd to goe preſentlie to Drumfreis, to take the command of fixe or ſeven regiments of foot, which were to be ſhortlie there. Our neernes to Carlile was thought might give Lambert ſome ombrages of both a ſtronger and a neerer approach. Neither were we miſtaken in our conjecture ; for ſo ſoone as we began to rally there, he drew his troops neerer together, and ſo Sir Marmaduk got aire, and with it ſome meate for himſelfe, and graſſe for his horſes.

In this poſture did Lockheart and I ſtay about a fortnight, twelve miles diſtant one from ane other, till (Sir Marmaduks reliefe being concluded on at Edenburgh as purlie neceſſare,) my L. Duke, E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middletone and Baillie, with many, bot weake regiments of horſe and foot, randevouſed at Anan. There I met them with my litle infantrie, amunition and a great deale of meale, which had beene ſent to me from Edenburgh and other places. Nixt day we advanced into England, order being given for all the regiments of the whole kingdome to haſte after us, except ſuch as were orderd to ſtay for defence of the countrey againſt our hidden enemies ; and theſe were to be commanded by E. Lainrick, as commander in chiefe

at home. Our advance obligd Lambert to retire. Some skirmishes we had with him for a day or tuo, bot to litle purpose. At length he got to Steinmure, where he beganne to fortifie himselfe. The Duke is necessitated to stay ten or twelve days at Kirbie-thure, to ressave those regiments were marching from Scotland, which did not exceed the halfe of their numbers they sould have beene, all newlie levied, raw and undisciplind ; and that summer was so excessivlie rainie and wet, that I may say it was not possible for us to keepe one musket often fixd, all the time we were in a bodie in England. Adde to this that we had no canon, nay not one field peece, very litle amunition, and not one officer to direct it. Deare Sandie being groune old and doated, had given no fitting orders for these things. Whill the Duke lyes at Kirbie-thure, Sir Marmaduke beseegeth the castle of Applebie, in which Lambert had left a guarrifon. I am sent with tuo brigads to ly neere him, for feare Lambert sould face about upon him. Within a few days the castle yeelded.

Heere I will set downe ane accident befell me ; for thogh it was not a very strange one, yet it was a very od one in all its parts. My tuo brigads lay in a village within halfe a mile of Applebie ; my oun quarter was in a gentlemans house, who was a Ritmaster, and at that time with Sir Marmaduke ; his wife keepd her chamber readie to be brought to bed. The castle being over, and Lambert farre enough, I resolvd to goe to bed everie night, haveing had fatigue enough before. The first night I sleepd well enough ; and riseing nixt morning, I misd one linnen stockine, one halfe filke one and one boothose, the accoustrement under a boote for one leg ; neither could they be found for any search. Being provided of more of the same kind, I made myselfe

reddie, and rode to the head quarters. At my returne, I could heare no news of my stockins. That night I went to bed, and nixt morning found myselfe juſt ſo uſed ; miſſing the three ſtockins for one leg onlie, the other three being left intire as they were the day before. A narrower ſearch then the firſt was made, bot without ſucceſſe. I had yet in reſerve one paire of whole ſtockings, and a paire of boothoſe greater then the former. Theſe I put on my legs. The third morning I found the ſame uſage, the ſtockins for one leg onlie left me. It was time for me then, and my ſervants too, to imagine it muſt be rats that had ſhard my ſtockins ſo equallie with me ; and this the miſtreſs of the houſe knew well enough, bot wold not tell it me. The roome, which was a low parlour, being well ſearchd with candles, the top of my great boothoſe was found at a hole, in which they had drawne all the reſt. I went abroad, and orderd the boards to be raiſed, to ſee how the rats had diſpoſd of my moveables. The miſtreſs ſent a ſervant of her owne to be preſent at this action, which ſhe knew concernd her. One boord being bot a litle open, a litle boy of mine thruſt in his hand, and fetchd with him foure and tuentie old peeces of gold, and one angell. The ſervant of the houſe affirmd it appartaind to his miſtreſs. The boy bringing the gold to me, I went immediatlie to the gentlewomans chamber, and told her, it was probable Lambert haveing quarterd in that houſe, as indeed he had, ſome of his ſervants might have hid that gold ; and if ſo, it was lafullie mine ; bot if ſhe could make it appeare it belongd to her, I ſould immediatlie give it her. The poore gentlewoman told me with many teares, that her huſband being none of the frugalleft men (and indeed he was a ſpendthrift) ſhe had hid that gold without his knowledge, to make uſe of it as ſhe had oc-

caſion, eſpeciallie when ſhe lay in ; and conjurd me, as I lov'd the King, (for whom her huſband and ſhe had ſufferd much) not to detain her gold. She ſaid, if there was either more or leſſe then foure and tuentie whole peeces, and two halfe ones, it ſould be none of hers, and that they were put by her in a red velvet purſe. After I had given her aſſurance of her gold, a new ſearch is made, the other angell is found, the velvet purſe all gnawd in bits, as my ſtockins were, and the gold infantlie reſtord to the gentlewoman. I have often heard that the eating or gnauing of cloths by rats is ominous, and portends ſome miſchance to fall on theſe to whom the cloths belong. I thank God I was never addicted to ſuch divinations, or heeded them. It is true, that more miſfortuns then one fell on me ſhortlie after ; bot I am ſure I could have better forſeene them myſelfe then rats or any ſuch vermine, and yet did it not. I have heard indeed many fine ſtories told of rats, how they abandon houſes and ſhips, when the firſt are to be burnt, and the ſecond dround. Naturaliſts ſay they are very ſagacious creatures, and I beleeeve they are ſo ; bot I ſhall never be of the opinion they can forſee future contingencies, which I ſuppoſe the divell himſelfe can neither forknow nor fortell ; theſe being things which the Almighty hath keepd hidden in the boſome of his divine preſcience. And whither the great God hath preordained or predeſtinated theſe things, which to us are contingent, to fall out by ane uncontrollable and unavoidable neceſſitie, is a queſtion not yet decided.

My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill equipd and ill orderd armie of his, in which I being Colonell of a regiment, I officiatiſd alſo as Adjutant Generall, or rather indeed doing the duetie of Major Generall of the infantrie, ſince there was none namd for it. To relieve

Langdale at Carlile, brought us out of the roade, and truelie we never came in the right way againe ; fo true is the old faying, once wrong and ay wrong. At Hornbie, a days march beyond Kendall, it was advifd whether we fould march be Lancashire, Chefhire and the western counties, or if we fould goe into Yorkfhire, and fo put ourfelvs in the ftraight roade to London, with a refolution to fight all wold oppofe us. Calander was indifferent ; Middletone was for Yorkfhire ; Baillie for Lancashire. When my opinion was askd, I was for Yorkfhire, and for this reafon onlie, that I underftood Lancashire was a clofe countrey, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the Englifh would have over our raw and undifciplind mufketeers ; the Parliaments armie confifting of experienced and well traind fojors, and excellent firemen ; on the other hand, Yorkfhire being a more open countrey, and full of heaths, where we both might make ufe of our horfe, and come fooner to pufh of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancashire way, and it feemd he had hopes that fome forces would joyne with him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him fay, that he thought Manchefter his oune, if he came neere it. Whatever the matter was, I never faw him tenacieous in any thing during the time of his command bot in that. We choofd to goe that way, which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by moft rainie and tempeftuous weather, wherof I fpoke before, the elements fighting againft us ; and by ftaying for countrey horfes to carry our little amunition. The vanguard is constantlie given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition he fould constantlie furnifh guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and which was more than both thefe, to have good and certaine intelligence of all the enemies motions. Bot whither it was



by our falt or his neglect, want of intelligence helpd to ruine us ; for Sir Marmaduke was well neere totallie routed, before we knew that it was Cromwell that attackd us : *Quos vult perdere, hos dementat Jupiter.*

Befide Preston in Lancashire, Cromwell falls on Sir Marmadukes flanke. The English imagine it was one Colonell Ashton, a powerfull presbiterian, who had got together about 3000 men to oppose us, because we came out of Scotland without the Generall Assemblies permission. Marke the quarrell. While Sir Marmaduke disputes the matter, Baillie, by the Dukes order, marcheth to Ribble Bridge, and passeth it with all the foot, except tuo brigads. This was tuo miles from Preston. By my Lord Dukes command, I had sent some amunition and commanded men to Sir Marmadukes assistance ; bot to no purpose ; for Cromwell prevaild, so that our English first retird and then fled. It must be rememberd that the night before this sad rencounter, E. Calander and Middleton were gone to Wigham, eight miles from thence, with a considerable part of the cavalrie. Calander was comd backe, and was with the Duke, and so was I ; bot upon the rout of Sir Marmadukes people, Calander got away to Ribble, where he arrivd safelie by a miracle, as I thinke ; for the enemy was betueene the bridge and us, and had killd or taken the most part of our tuo brigads of foot. The Duke with his guard of horse, Sir Marmaduke with many officers, among others myselfe, got into Preston town, with intention to passe a forde below it, though at that time not rideable. At the entrie of the town, the enemy pursued us hard. The Duke faced about, and put tuo troops of them to a retreat ; bot so soone as we turnd from them, they turnd upon us. The Duke facing the second time, charged

them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my Lord Duke cryd to charge once more for King Charles. One trooper refusing, he beate him with his sword. At that charge we put the enemy so farre behind us, that he could not overtake us so soone. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the Duke to haſt him to his army; and truely he ſhew heere as much perſonall valour as any man could be capable of. We found the river, and ſo got to the place where Lieutenant Generall Baillie had advantageouſly lodgd the foot on the top of a hill, among very fenceable incloſures.

After Calander came to the infantry, he very unadvisedly ſent fixe hundred muſketeers to defend Ribble bridge; for the way Cromwell had to it was a deſcent from a hill that commanded all the champaigne, which was about an Engliſh quarter of mile in length betwene the bridge and that hill where our foot were lodged; ſo that our muſketeers having no ſhelter, were forced to reſſave all the muſketades of Cromwell's infantry, which was ſecure within thicke hedges; and after the loſs of many men, were forced to runne backe to our foot. Here Claud Hammlton, the Dukes Lieutenant Colonell, had his arme broke with a muſket bullet. The bridge being loſt, the Duke calld all the Colonells together on horſebacke, to adviſe what was next to be done. We had no choyce bot one of two, either ſtay and maintaine our ground till Middletone (who was ſent for), came backe with his cavalerie; or elſ march away that night, and find him out. Calander wold needs ſpeake firſt; whereas by the cuſtome of warre, he ſould have told his opinion laſt, and it was to march away that night ſo ſoone as it was darke. This was ſeconded by all the reſt, except by Lieutenant Generall Baillie and myſelfe. Bot all the arguments we uſed, as the impoſſibilitie of

a safe retreat from aneemie so powerfull of horse, in so very foule weather, and extremelie deepe way, our sojors exceeding wet, wearie, and hungrie, the inevitable losse of all our amunition, could not move my Lord Duke by his authoritie to contradict the shamefull resolution taken by the major part of his officers. After that the drumles march is resolvd on, and bot few horse appointed to stay in the reare of the foot, I inquired what shoud become of our unfortunate amunition, since forward with us we could not get it. It was not thought fitt to blow it up that night, leaft thereby the enemie shoud know of our retreat or rather flight. I was of that opinion too, bot for ane other reason; for we could not have bloune it then, without a visible mischief to ourselves, being so neare it. It was ordaind it shoud be done three hours after our departure, by a traine; bot that being neglected, Cromwell got it all. Nixt morning we appeard at Wiggam Moore, half our number lesse than we were; most of the faint and wearie sojors haveing lagd behind, whom we never saw againe. Lieutenant Generall Middleton had misd us, for he came by ane other way to Ribble bridge. It was to be wishd he had still stayd with us. He, not finding us there, followd our tracke, bot hotlie purfued by Cromwells horse, with whom he skirmishd the whole way, till he came within a mile of us. He lost some men, and severall were hurt; among others Colonell Urrey got a dangerous shot on the left side of his heade, wherof, though he was afterward taken prisoner, he recoverd. In this retreat of Middletons, which he managed well, Cromwell lost one of the gallantest officers he had, Colonell Thornton, who was runne in the breaſte with a lance, wherof he dyed. After Lieutenant Generall Middletons comeing, we beganne to think of fighting in that moore; bot

that was found impossible, in regard it was nothing large, and environed with enclosures which commanded it; and these we could not maintain long, for want of that ammunition we had left behind us; and therefore we marched forward with intention to gain Warinton, ten miles from the moore we were in; and there we conceived we might face about, having the command of a town, a river, and a bridge. Yet I conceive there was but few of us thought we might be beaten, before we were masters of any of them. It was towards evening, and in the latter end of August, when our horse began to march. Some regiments of them were left with the reare of the foot; Middleton stayed with them; my Lord Duke and Calander were before. As I marched with the last brigade of foot through the town of Wiggam, I was alarmed that our horse behind me were beaten, and runne severall ways, and that the enemy was in my reare. I faced about with that brigade, and in the market place ferred the pikes together, shoulder to shoulder, to keepe up any shoulde charge, and sent orders to the rest of the brigades before to continue their march, and follow Lieutenant Generall Baillie, who was before them. It was then night, but the moone shone bright. A regiment of horse of our owne appeared first, riding very disorderlie. I got them to stop, till I commanded my pikes to open, and give way for them to ride or runne away, since they wold not stay. But my pikemen being demented, (as I thinke we were all,) wold not heare me, and two of them runne full tilt at me. One of their pikes, which was intended for my bellie, I griped with my left hand; the other run me neere two inches in the inner side of my right thigh; all of them crying, that all of us were Cromwells men. This was an unseasonable wound, for it made me after that night unservicable.

This made me forget all rules of modestie, prudence and discretion. I rode to our horse, and desired them to charge through these foot. They, fearing the hazard of the pikes, stood. I then made a cry come from behind them, that the enemy was upon them. This encouraged them to charge my foot so fiercely, that the pikemen threw down their pikes and got into houses. All the horse galloped away; and, as I was told afterwards, rode not thorough, but over our whole foot, treading them down; and in this confusion Colonel Lockheart was trod down from his horse, with great danger of his life. Though the enemy was nearer, yet I beat drums to gather my men together. Shortly after came Middleton, with some horse. I told him what a disaster I had met with, and what a greater I expected. He told me, he would ride before and make the horse halt. I marched, however, all that night, till it was fair day; and then Baillie, who had rested a little, intreated me to go into some house and repose on a chair; for I had slept none in two nights, and ate as little. I alighted, but the constant alarms of the enemies approach made me resolve to ride forward to Warinton, which was but a mile; and indeed I may say I slept all that way, notwithstanding my wound. I thought to have found either the Duke or Calander, or both here, but I did not; and indeed I was often told that Calander carried away the Duke with him, much against his mind. Here did the Lieutenant General of the foot meet with an order, whereby he is required to make as good conditions for himselfe and those under him as he could; for the horse would not come backe to him, being resolved to preserve themselves for a better time. Baillie was surpris'd with this, and looking upon that action which he was ordered to do as full of dishonor, he lost much of that patience of which naturally he was

maſter ; and beſeechd any that wold to ſhoot him thorough the head. At length, haveing ſomthing compoſd himſelfe, and much ſollicitd by the officers who were by him, he wrote to Cromwell. I then told him, that ſo long as ther was a reſolution to fight, I wold not goe a foot from him ; bot now that they were to deliver themſelvs priſoners, I wold preſerve my libertie as long as I could, and ſo tooke my leave of him, carrying my wounded thigh away with me. I met immediatlie with Middleton, who ſadlie condold the irrecoverable loſſes of the tuo laſt days. Within tuo hours after, Baillie and all the officers and ſojors that were left of the foot, were Cromwells priſoners. I got my wound dreſſd that morning by my oune ſurgeon, and tooke from him theſe things I thought neceſſare for me, not knowing when I might ſee him againe ; as indeed I never ſaw him after.

That unhappie day we met with Cromwell at Preſton, ſome regiments of horſe, and our Irith auxiliaries under the command of Sir George Monro (who were fifteene hundreth good foot and three hundreth horſe, and were appointed, againſt all reaſon of warre, to be conſtantlie a days march behind us) all of them, I ſay, finding the enemie had got betweene us and them, marchd ſtraight backe to Scotland, and joynd with E. Lainricks forces. Bot ſo ſoone as the news of our deſeate came to Scotland, Argile and the Kirks partie roſe in armes everie mothers ſonne ; and this was calld the Whiggamer rode. Da. Leſlie was on their heade, and old Leven in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, cannonading the royall troopes when they came in view of him. Yet might they have been all verie ſoone conjurd to be quiet, if the royaliſts had not ſuffered themſelves to be cheated by a treatie, by which they were obligd to lay down armes, and quite their power in civill and

militarie affaires. Bot the principall men of them, particularlie the Earles Lauderdale and Lainrick, Sir George Monro, Dalryell and Drummond, and others, found it not faife to trust the Saints too much, and therfor crofd the seas, to take sanctuarie in Holland. Cromwell at Warinton sends Lambert with a sufficient cavalrie after us, and follows Monro with the strength of his armie to the Border, and there is invited by the Presbiterians to enter Scotland. He gets Berwick and Carlisle baselie yeelded to him; and in one of them a number of English gentlemen who had servd the King; ane infamous act! He is feasted by old Leven, (peeress of one tree) in the Castle of Edinburgh; which within tuo yeares after he made his oune. These men, who courted him, were so faithfull to the Covenant, that if fame wrong not some of them, they agreed with him in my Lady Homes house in the Canongate, that there was a necessitie to take away the Kings life. Now, for the good intertainment the Presbiterians had given this Arch Independent, at his returne to England, he left Lambert, (who had dispatched us before) with foure regiments of horse, to defend them against the Malignants (for so were honest men called), till forces of their oune were raised, which was soone done. And then Acts of State and Kirke are made, to incapacitate all who had beene in England with the Duke, all who had abetted that engadgment, or had consented to it, from any office, charge or employment in State, Church, or Militia; and numbers of honest Ministers, upon that same account, turned out of their benefices and livelihoods.

To returne to the Duke in England. At night, after I left Warinton, when I came to him, all the resolution I found taken was, to march forward a day or tuo, and then by a turne to endeavour to get into

Scotland ; for there was then no visible partie for the King in England to joyne with ; Cromwell having, before he came to us, routed and broken all these who rose in Wales, and hangd many of the principal gentlemen of them. And Fairfax had broke all these who rose for the King in other counties, first under the Earle of Holland, and then under the Earle of Norwich, chaceing him and the remainder of them into Colchester, which, after a sieg, was surrendered to him on discretion, as I thinke. Heere Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lile were cruellie dealt with, having bot two houres given them to prepare for death ; and after that short time, by the instigation of wicked Ireton, Cromwells sonne in law, mercilesse shot dead.

The first day, then, of the Dukes march from that place where I found him, was to Whitechurch, (in what countie I do not remember.) There a great number of the countrey traind bands appeared against us, bot were quicklie put to flight by Middleton, without bloodshed. That day we marchd many miles, and at night most or all the horse lodgd in the field, where their horses fed well. Some officers went to houses ; bot I lodgd at a hedge, and sleepd there so sound, that at break of day the trumpets could not waken me ; that being the fourth night in which I had sleepd none, except on horsebacke. Nixt day we made a long halt at a countrey toun, I thinke in Staffordshire, called Stone. Heere, because we had not enemies enough to take our lives, a trooper killd his owne Ritmaster, one Patrick Grey, who had beene a captaine under me in my Lord Sinclars regiment. The trooper was in the place shot dead, by my Lord Dukes command ; who, to speake truelie, was too spareing in taking lives, his clemencie occasioning the keeping very bad discipline the whole time of our march in England.



A litle after we had removd from that place, Lieutenant General Middleton making good the reare against some of the countrey militia troopes, was taken; his horse having fallen under him. He was carried to Stafford; and indeed, after that, we might trulie have said we were all prisoners; for I am sure enough, if he, or rather we, had escapd that misfortune, such unhappie accidents had beene prevented by him, which shortlie ruind us. And I know not bot he keeping us united, might not at a long runne have brought himselfe and most of us to Scotland. We came at night to Uxeter, in most tempestuous, windie, and rainie weather. Nixt morning, when we were on our march, a grèat unwillingness in the horsemen, and some of their officers to march further; the wearines of both man and horse, ane irresolution whether to goe, and most of all, a fatalitie which pursud us, made the Duke turne backe, and take up his quarters in the same toune. Neither that day nor nixt night was any thing resolvd on, bot to rest and refresh man and horse, and then either treat with these forces that had furrounded us, or fight them and march away. Sir Marmaduk Langdale, and these few English who were with him, had left us at Uxeter. He was taken afterward, bot savd his life by escapeing out of prison. The Duke and Calander fell out; and were at very hie words at supper, where I was; each blameing the other for the misfortune and miscarriage of our affaires; in which contest I thought the Duke had the better of it. And heere, indeed, I will say, that my Lord Dukes great fault was in giveing E. Calander too much of his pouer all along; for I have often heard him bid him doe what he pleased, promising to be therewith well contented. And therfor Calander was double to be bland, first for his bad conduct, (for that was inexcusable,) and nixt for

reproching the Duke with that whereof himfelfe was guiltie. To fill up the meafure of our miffortunes, our troopers mutine againft the Duke, Calander, and all their officers. Whether this proceeded of their oune wickednes, or by the infigation of fome of their oune commanders, (which I then fhrewdlie fufpected,) is uncertaine. The Duke and Calander are keepd prifoners, with ftrong guards of the mutineers, all nixt night in the Dukes lodgeing, with many other officers, and among others myfelfe. Nixt morning, fo foone as I could fee, I cald over the window of the Dukes bedchamber to them, and afkd them, if they were not yet afhamd of the bafe ufage they had given their Generall, and of that contempt they had fhown of all difcipline, and of the ignominie of this action; and requird them, if for no other reafon, yet for their oune fafetie from the common enemie, to returne to their duetie, and goe home to their lodgings. Immediatlie they removd their guards, and went to their feverall quarters, curfing in generall words thefe who had prompted them to the mutinie; which augmented my former fufpition, but it was no time to make a ftrict inquire in the bufinefs. Shortlie after, Calander went away with as many as would follow him; which indeed were more than the halfe of thefe were in toune. No intreatie of the Duke or mediation of the officers could prevaile with him. I dealt particularlie with him, bot in vaine. He ufd many arguments to move me to goe along with him, bot I told him, if I keepd my life, I wold be one of the laft men fould ftay with the Generall. I heard that not long after he was deferted by all that went with him, as he had deferted my Lord Duke. Yet he had the good fortune (which I believe no other officer of our armie had,) to get fafe to London in a difguife, and from thence to Holland.

I must remember heere, that the day after we returnd to Uxeter, there came some gentlemen of Staffordshire with a trumpet from the governor of the towne to my Lord Duke, who shew his Grace, that in the time Middletone had servd the Parliament in the qualitie of Major Generall, he had done many good offices to both the town and the shire; and therefor to witnes their thankfulnes, they were comd to intreate his Grace to permit them to carry Middletons servants, horses and baggage to him at Stafford. This was readilie granted by the Duke, with his heartie thanks to the gentlemen for their so seasonable kindnes. Standing by the Duke when this passed, I bethought myfelfe of sending some moneys in Middletons coffers. There was a hundredth and fiftie pounds sterline of it, which one of our commissaries had intreated me to cause some of my servants carry, because in our tumultuarie march after Preston, he knew not what to doe with it. Lieutenant Generall Middletone haveing taken 500 lb. sterline from some other commissaries, upon that same account, I dealt with Middletons secretarie and his valet de chambre, to take my money with them; bot they both rudlie and obstinatlie refusd it, till I conjurd the uncivill humour out of them, with the pouverfull charme of tuentie pound sterline, and then they found roome for the rest of the money. Some of this I gave afterwards to our sojors, who were prisoners at Stafford, and much I lent to indigent officers, and tooke notes from them for it, which I got occasion to send to my wife in Scotland, who got thankfull payment afterward of much of it.

Calander being gone, there was an absolute necessitie imposed on the Duke to capitulate with the Governor of Stafford, who had about 3000 of the countrey militia with him, with which we were furround-

ed. Sir James Foullis of Colinton, Colonell Lockheart and myfelfe are namd and commiffionated by my Lord Duke to treat. We met with the governour and fome of the principall gentlemen, three miles from Uxeter, at a very pleafant houfe in Staffordfhire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queene of Scots had beene long keepd prifoner. This with fuperftitious people wold have lookd ominous for us, who were of that nation. In our treatie, we found them very civill and rationall, and fo much friends to monarchie, that we had reafon to expect no bad conditions from them. Bot Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We are interrupted by a meffenger fent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was comd within tuo miles of that place, and that, if we wold treat, it muft be with him. Thefe were no good news, yet we prefentlie horfd and went to him. We found him very difcreet, and his expreffions civill enough. He appointed three principall officers to treat with us, wherof Lieutenant Generall Lilburn was one. After much difcourfe, they offerd to us, if we wold redeliver Berwick and Carlile to the Englifh Parliament, we fould be permitted to goe; nay, we fould be convoyd backe to Scotlande. We told them we had no pouer in our commiffion to fpeake of thefe tounes; and fo other articles were agreed on by us, bot not fignd till I fould goe firft to the Duke and fhew him, if he wold furrender thefe tuo touns, he and all with him fould have their libertie; if not, we were by the articles all prifoners. He abfolutlie refufd to engadge for the deliverie of thefe places, as a thing he faid was not in his pouer; juftlie fufpecting the Deputie Governors of the touns wold not obey his orders in the condition he was; and fo with many forrowfull expreffions difmiffd me. Upon the way as I returned, I met Lambert, with fome troops,

who told me he was goeing to save my Lord Duke from my Lord Grey of Groobie, who was marching towards Uxeter on the other side of the toune, which I knew before I came from the Duke to be true. He desired me by all meanes to hast the signing the articles, which he promised to ratifie. At my returne, I told my comerads what reason we had to make haste ; and haveing reported the Dukes answer to the English officers, we all immediatlie signed the articles, which, indeed, if they had been malicious, they might have waverd ; for whill we were about it, one Major Gib, an officer of our owne, came very unmanerlie into the roome, belching out his folly in these words : “ Gentlemen, what doe ye dooe ? The Duke and all who are with him are my Lord Greys prisoners.” Yet the commissioners signed for all that ; and indeed my Lord Duke was by that time prisoner, but Lambert tooke the protection of him ; for our agreement was ratified by him, and by the Duke too, for he was not to be esteemed a prisoner, because taken in the time of a cessation and treatie, against custome of warre. Our first article was for the Duke, that he should onlie be a prisoner of warre, nor should his life ever be questioned or in danger. He should keepe his George ; fixe of his servants, such as he should choose, should be permitted to attend him, and fixe of his best horses likewise ; that in his prison accessse of all persons to him should be allowed ;—conditions good enough, but very ill kept. The summe of the rest of the articles was this : That all of us, both officers and souldiers, should be prisoners of warre, but civillie used, till we could procure our libertie by exchange or ranfome ; that all of us should keepe the cloths we had on us, and all the gold and money we had about us, all other baggage, armes, and horses, should be bootie and prize to the victor. We three

who had capitulated, were orderd to be carried to Stafford, where Middleton was. The captain who conducted us thither got our horses and armes. As we rode thorough Uxeter, we made a stand at the window of the Dukes chamber; and he looking out, we tooke our eternall farewell of him, with sad hearts parting from him we were never to see againe. He spoke kindlie to us, and so we left him to act the last and worst part of his tragedie.

At Stafford, where were very many prisoners, we stayd, I thinke, seven or eight days; and then came a Ritmaster (who had beene a glover, and still keepd both the mine and manners of a mechanick,) with fortie horse, and ane order from Lambert to cary my Lord Cranston, Lieutenant Generall Middleton, Colonel Lockhart and myselfe, to Kingston upon Hull. One Major Craford, with much importunitie, got leave to goe along with his cousine Lockhart. We tooke our leave of our fellow prisoners, and of the governour, who had beene very civill to us; and so had all his officers, and the touns people likewise. This Ritmaster was a fellow of low qualitie, weake intellectualls, a violent Independent, a mortall enemie to the King, his familie and all monarchie; a persecutor of Presbitrie. For the rest of his endowments, we found him not ill natured; neither will I wrong him much if I bestow upon him the title of a foole. He furnisht horses for ourselvs and servants. My Lord Cranstoun had tuo servants allowd him; so had the Lieutenant Generall, Collonell Lockheart and I, each of us one. The Ritmaster and his litle troope was but ill mounted, and therfor gave us ease enough on our journey; neither was it unpleasant, except when the sad remembrance of our oune condition, and that of all honnest men, mixd too much water with our wine. On

the fifteenth of September, if I remember right, we arrivd at Hull. Our Ritmafter left us at Yorke, to whom, becaufe he was not very uncivill, we gave tuentie five pounds fterline in gold, wherof my fhare was five. And heere I muft make a litle ftop, (for indeed I did fo, ftaying there long enough,) and looke backe a litle.

It is a true faying, “ Man propones, and God difpofes;” neither is it in the pouer, or within the reach of the wit of weake man, to project a bufinefs with fo much caution, or profecute it with foe much induftrie, prudence or courage, bot it may be blafted from Heaven, and renderd unfucceffull by thefe contingencies which can neither be forefeene nor prevented. The truth of this we found in this unhappie expedition. What was intended for the Kings reliefe and reftoration, pofted him to his grave. His fad imprifonment calld for affiftance from all his loyall fubjects, which as a duetie the laws both of God and man feemd to impofe on them. Our hopes of fuccefs were great, groundd on the equitie of our juft undertakeing, the prevailing of the royall partie in Ireland, the returne of moft of the navie to their duetie and obedience, under the then Prince of Wales, now King; the numerous and loyall rifeings of many fhires in England and Wales; againft that ufurped pouer which keepd his Majeftie in reftreint, and upon our oune ftrengh; for our armie was intended to have beene tuentie thoufand foot, and fixe thoufand horfe and dragoons. Bot we never amounted to fourteene thoufand in all. Thefe were honneft and faire motives for that loyall and well intended engadgment of ours; bot,

*Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.*

The heavens brings things unto ane other end,  
Then that, for which blind man did them intend.

The Allmightie in his inscrutable will had orderd matters otherwise, and refusd a blessing to that unhappie armie ; for the ruine and destruction wherof did contribute, as second causes, the mischievous retardment and obstruction Argile and his kirke so vigorousslie made, which hinderd us to come time enough to joyne with the foutherne counties ; Langdales unadvised and too suddenn levies, and his unseasonable march to Lancashire, which obliged Lambert to come against him, and chase him to Carlile ; which imposd a necessitie on the Duke to march to his releefe, before he was halfe readie ; the weaknes, rawnes, and undisciplindnes of our sojors, our want of artillerie and horses to cary the litle amunition we had, the constant rainie, stormie and tempestuous weather which attended us, which made all hie ways impassible for man and beaft, our want of intelligence, our leaveing our Irish auxiliaries so farre behind us, and our unfortunate resolution to wave Yorkshire, and march by Lancashire ; all which, being hinted at by me before, made us a prey to Cromwells veterane armie. Hence followd the alteration of the government in all the three kingdomes ; the Kings execrable murther, who was brought from Carisbroke Castle to Westminster, is arraignd, impeachd, condemnd, and hath his heade stricke off in the sight of the sun at noontide of the day, at the gate of his oune palace of Whitehall ; and the death and totall ruine of most of the royall partie.

Bot to returne to Hull. Colonell Robert Overton was governor there ; a great Independent, who hath since had his share of imprisonment, both under the Usurper Oliver, and under his present Majestie ; so it wold seeme he hath beene ane enemie to monarchie, whatever name it had, whether King or Protector. Civill and discreet he was,



had been at ane Inns of Court, was a schollar, bot a litle pedantick. He made us wellcome, and lodgd us tuo months in tuo severall inns, where we were well enough used for our money, and well enough guarded withall. Before the end of that time, my Lord Cranston, by the mediation of his father in law Generall Leven, was first carried away from us to Neúcastle, and therafter set at libertie. At the end of these tuo months, Middleton and Lockheart, by the intercession of their friends, likewise were carried to Neucastle; bot Major Craford was not permitted to goe with his cousine Lockheart. After that, Middleton got libertie to goe to and stay at Berwick, till his ladie was brought to bed there; when that was done, he made his escape to Scotland, which wold have cost him deare three years after, if he had not playd the same game, and escapd out of the Toure of London. Lockheart might have been releasd for some money; bot whether it was to spare that, or to enjoy the too acceptable societie of Paul Hobson, he knows best. After they were gone, I am put in the Provost Marshalls hands, and Major Craford to beare me companie. I had, notwithstanding that I was in the common prison, which formerlie had beene the House of Correction, ane indifferent good chamber, and a good bed for myfelfe, and ane other for my servant. I was very strictlie guarded, and no lesse than fye centries keepd constantlie about me. I learnd the alteration of my usage afterward, and the causes of it.

After Cromwell had left Lambert in Scotland, he marchd to Pomfret Castle; which Lieutenant Colonell Morris had surpris'd, and keepd then for the King, for which they hangd him afterward at Yorke. Whill I was prisoner at Hull, Cromwell besiegeth it, and sends for Overton to command in that service nixt to himfelfe. In the meane

time, Argile and the Kirk being able to stand on their owne legs, dismissed Lambert with many thanks. He had beene very well entertained in Scotland, which made him so desirous to returne to it two yeares after. So soone as he came to Pomfret, Cromwell thought he spent his time not well in takeing a castle from the King, when he intended to take the heade from the King; left Lambert to reduce Pomfret, sends Overton back to Hull, and marchd directlie to London with the rest of his forces, to murther the best of Kings.

At the governors returne to Hull, he required me to plight my faith to him, by a revers under my hand, to be a faithfull prisoner, and not goe without the walls of Hull without his libertie. He brought me this message himselfe. I told him I was readie to doe it, provided he removd his guards from me; which he refuseing to doe, I shew him that if he tooke my parole or faith, he was obliged to trust me; for, *fides et fiducia sunt relativa*; and if he tooke my word for my fidelitie, he was obliged to trust it, otherwise it was needles for him to seeke it, and in vaine for me to give it; and therefore I beseechd him, either to give trust to my word, which I should not breake, or to his owne guards, who, I supposed, would not deceive him. In this manner I dealt with him, because I knew he was a schollar. He acknowledged all I said to be true, but withall he told me, I must either doe all he desired of me, or doe worse. I prayd him to tell me what was that? He said he had order from his Lieutenant Generall, meaning Cromwell, to keep me in irons; but he thought the severenes of that command proceeded from the care he had I should not escape. The Governor himselfe conceived, if he keepd me so well that he might present me to the Lieutenant Generall when I was calld for, he had made choyce of a way for it.

more tolerable for me. He promised to befriend me as much as he could, without his owne prejudice, and so indeed he did; but affurd me any rough usage I ressed or might ressed, came out of Scotland. I then gave him what he demanded, with many thanks for not putting his order in execution. I could not then but reflect upon the kind recommendation that Argile, or some of that partie, had given to Cromwell of me; and I make no doubt but if greater matters had not chased the remembrance of me out of Cromwells mind, and some misunderstandings that arose betueene him and his friends in Scotland, that they could not conveniently put him in mind of me, some greater mischief then imprisonment had befallen me. Most of all these prisoners of warre that were in the common goale with me, were shortly after released one way or other, and so was Major Craford also; but in all their roomes came Colonell Boynton, who had persuaded his brother (thogh a great Independent) to declare himself and the Castle of Scarborough, wherof he was Governour, for the King. A fine young gentleman this was, had studied in one of the universities, was travelled, and well seene in historie and in the present state of Christendome. He and I were constantly guarded with tuentie musketeers. The Marshall who had the principall government of us, was one Watfone, who had beene an Alderman and wooll merchant in Dubline, and had broke for 25,000 lb. sterline; he was afterward Marshall Generall in Scotland. He was civill enough to us, and after the Kings restoration, I chanced to doe him some favours at Edinburgh. He had a depute under him, one Lindale, one of these we call good honest men, or if you please, a fillie simple fellow. Under him there was a third, called Standfield; he was since a regiment marshall at Aire, and lives now at Newbotle in

Scotland. He was our turnkey, and lockd us in our severall chambers everie night. We dieted with him for eightene pence a meale for each of our selves, and eight pence for each of our servants. I payd for neere a twelvemonth a shilling sterline every night for my oune bed, and a groat for my mans ; a shilling everie day for coales, and a groat for candles, summer and winter. I had much comfort in Boyntons companie so long as he stayd, which was full six months ; and then he got his libertie on bond.

In the month of December, 1648, my wife came out of Scotland to me. I was extreamlie glad to see her, thogh very fory she shoud have made so long a journey in so bad a time of the yeare. She had obtained in Scotland ane order from Lambert to Overton, to send me to Newcastle ; bot he excusd himselfe, in regard he had a later order from him who commanded over Lambert. Yet my wife, much against my will, wold needs goe to Lambert at Pomfret, where he ressavd her civilie, bot said it was not in his power to contradict his Lieutenant Generalls order. She returnd, after getting bad entertainment and lodgeing at Pomfret, and after a pitifull journey of threescore miles, in deepe and almost unrideable way, and in most stormie and rainie weather. She stayd about a month with me, much to my comfort ; and fore against her will returned to Scotland, whether I would have her goe to looke to our particular affaires. It is to be supposed we parted forroufullie, and so indeed we did ; yet not without hopes to see one anoether joyfullie againe, as it pleased God we did a twelve month after.

Haveing accustomd myselfe all my life over to be sometimes solitarie and retird, wherin I ever tooke much delight, I did not take my restraint so greevouslie as these would doe, who either will not or can-

not live without companie. And haveing the ufe of bookes, paper, pen and ink, I deceavd the longnes of the time with readeing and writing. Withall, the Governour permitted me not onlie to goe to church, bot to walke fometimes on the toune walls, with one of my marshalls and tuo musketeers with me; fome honneft royalifts of the toune were permitted alfo to give me vifites. Yet for all thefe comforts I came to the knowledge of fome things (for I had the reading of all the Gazets and Diurnalls) which made my restraint more bitter and heavie to me than otherwife it wold have beene; for not to fpeake of the cruell ufage I had in Scotland, men looking where any money of mine was to be got, and immediatlie feizd on, the difertion I met with of all my friends, yea my neereft relations, for thefe concernd onlie myfelfe; firft, I heard how mercilefslic the prefent Committee of Eftates, who had ufurped the government, had ufed men of all ranks and qualities, who had given bot the leaft occafion to fufpect their honeftie and loyaltie; fecondlie, the banifhment of the peers of England out of the Upper Houfe, and the extrufion, or as they calld it, the exclufion of the honneft members of the Houfe of Commons, by Collonell Pride, at Cromwells command; which portended, thirdlie, the Kings execrable murther the 30th of Januare, 1649; fourthlie, the taking Duke Hamiltons heade of on a fcaffold at Weftminfter in March after. They beheaded him as Earle of Cambridge, and fo a Peere of England, without haveing any regard at all to the articles he had for life; bot in this I fuppoze Cromwell did nothing without advice from Scotland. Heere I can not bot bewaile the fate of that miifortunate Lord, who was a perfon of excellent qualities, of a great underftanding, and good exprefions, curteous, affable, humane; fo mercifull that he was bot a bad

Justitiare, which I thought was a blemish in him ; one of the best masters to vassalls and tenants that our kingdom afforded. His constellation had inclined and appointed him to be a good statesman, and to be happier in the enjoyment of his Prince his favour, the *summum bonum* of courtiers, but to be unfortunate in all his military employments both by sea and land. Most unhappy he was in his honour, which was branded most part of his life with foul aspersions of disloyalty and treachery ; neither will venomous tongues suffer his ashes to lie quiet, but cast dust upon them as if he had died as a fool. I had only the honor to know him when he was my general, and I believe he was faithful to his sovereign all his life ; but in the time he had the conduct of that unfortunate army, I dare swear the deepest oath for his fidelity and loyalty, and that he intended nothing but the full restoration of the King, for whom he died a martyr. Immediately after him were beheaded on that same scaffold, E. Holland and the brave Lord Capell. Fifthly, as I was glad to hear of Lieutenant General Middleton's escape out of Berwick, and that he was upon the head of a royal party in the north of Scotland ; so it was grievous to me to hear that, in his absence from that party, most of it was routed and beaten by Ker and Strachan, and himself forced to be contented with an assurance that he might live at home in peace ; so little did that rising contribute to the present King's service. Sixthly, I could not but be exceedingly grieved to hear all the canons about the walls of Hull shot, and see bonfires made in the streets, for joy of that victory. Colonel Michael Jones had got, by a desperate sally out of Dublin, of the Marquis of Ormond and all his numerous army, even when he was absolutely master of all Ireland except Dublin, Dundalk, and Londonderry ; and

at that time too when Cromwell was readie with ane armie at Milford haven to croffe over to Ireland, to purfue that victorie, and reduce that kingdome to the Parliaments obedience, as he did. Seventhlie, I was forry to heare, that any thing might have been done for the King in Scotland, was totallie obftructed by the irreconcilable animofities betueene Duke William Hamilton and the Marqueffe of Montroffe at the Haag, where they were both with the King; as alfo that his Majeftie, in fteade of goeing to Ireland, which might have been preferved, was perfuaded to goe fee his mother in France; from whence he went to Jerfey, where he winterd in the yeare 1649, till ane addrefle from the governing partie in Scotland brought him out of it to Breda, there to treat with his Scots Commiffioners. I confeffe that all thefe fad intelligences comeing on the necke of other, did much afflict my fpirit, yet not fo much bot that I ftill hopd to live and fee ane alteration; for after a great ftorme, of neceffitie a calme muft follow.

Overton had promifd, that fo foone as Cromwell went out of England, he wold propofe fome way for my libertie. So foone, then, as he was arrivd in Ireland, I put my Governor in mind of his promife. He advifeth me, in regard Watfons my marfhall was goeing to London about his oune affaires, I fould give him fome moneys, for which he wold oblige him to agent my buffenes according to his direction, which was this. A friend of his, one Colonell Nidam, was killd in the Parliaments fervice, and had left his wife very poore. She fould petition the Parliament to give her a prifoner, for whole libertie fhe might get fome money. He faid there was no doubt bot the Parliament wold referre the petition to Generall Fairfaxe, and then he wold deale with Mr Clerke, (who was then Fairfaxes fecretarie under Rulhworth,

since knighted by the King, and killd at sea,) that I should be the man, if I would satisfie the widow. I humbly thankd him for this very kind proffer, and readily accepted of it. The Governor writes to London with Watfons, who stayd ten weekes, mostly at my charges. The Governor had cast up a right account; for a letter is obtained to him from Fairfaxe to set me at libertie, I giving my paroll to goe beyond seas, and not to returne to any of the three kingdomes for a yeare, but not one word of money. I am presently taken out of my prison house, my guards removed, and I accommoded in that inn where first we were lodged when we came to Hull; the best inn of the town.

The next day I went to Overton, both to give him my real thanks for this superlative favour, as also to know what he would appoint me to give the widow and Mr Cleark; for though there was mention made of none of them in his Generalls order, yet I intended not to be ungrate, or omit to pay that duetie I owed to both. He asked me what I would bestow on each of them? I told him, fiftie pounds on the widow, and ten on Mr Cleark. He replied it was too much, and therefore he would save me fiftene pounds of that summe; for the widow should have but fortie, and Mr Cleark five. This I presently paid; neither would Overton suffer me to present either himselfe or his ladie with any token of my thankfulness. This was the most courteous Independent I ever met with. My marshall and his deputies I satisfied so well, that they did not complaine of me. Moneys were furnished me not onlie for this, but for all my charges the whole time of my imprisonment, by one Master Key, who that yeare was shrieve of the town. They were repaid to him by David Wilkie, a merchant of Edinburgh, they two having beene well acquainted together in Spaine. Mr Key and



some other honnest Royalists of the toune had given me severall visits, when I was in the Provost Marshalls companie, bot there we might not speake bot before one of my keepers ; bot when I came to lodge in the inne, they and I conversed freely together, to both our great satisfactions.

I resolv'd to be gone with the first ship went from Hull, whatever place of Chriftenhome she was bound for, feareing I might be stop'd by some new order. Sixe weeks after, a cloth ship made saile for Hamburg with a convoy of threttie guns. In the convoy were some merchants belonging to that staple, all men for the new Commonwealth. I wold not goe with them, but went in the cloth ship, where one Master Robbiesone was master, ane honnest and well principld man. We went doune the Humber, at the mouth wherof we met with a very faire wind, which in foure dayes time put us in the mouth of the Elve ; and as we went up that river, I found a gret change since the time I was there before, about Geluctstad, a toune of the King of Denmarks ; his block houses there, whereby he had exacted toll of all ships that pass'd, being demolish'd, by vertue of ane article of the peace he had made with Sueden, after foure yeares unfortunate warre. That article was made by the instigation of the citie of Hamburg, which had notable assisted the Sueds against their lord and protector the King of Denmark. Two days after, we arriv'd and landed at that rich and flourishing citie.

Among other favours I reffav'd from Colonell Overton, Governour of Hull, this was not the least, that he permitted me the use of all the bookes the stationers of that place could afford, for which I payd them money weeklie ; and, which I valued more, he allowd me the use of pen,

paper and inke ; which were tuo very comfortable and profitable diversifements to me in that affliction. Heere it was where I wrote some collections of the state of Europe, from the yeare 1618, that the dreadfull comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots Covenant appeared in the world, which produced as sad and lamentable effects as that comet did. Heere I wrote also [some] essays and discourfes, and that with so much confidence and freedome, as if I had beene at my full libertie, that I am sure if Overton had perufd them, he had found so much spoke to the disadvantage of his masters of the new Commonwealth, that he wold have given a stop to my releasment. Bot he sufferd me to cary all my papers with me untouchd and unseene by himselfe or any other. And so I tooke my leave of him, and of Hull also, in the beginning of November 1649, after I had beene prisoner fourteene months or thereby.

**MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;**

**PART SECOND,**

**WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED**

**THE REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE  
FROM HIS RELEASMENT OUT OF PRISON AT HULL,  
IN OCTOBER 1649, TILL NOVEMBER 1663.**



## SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

---

WHEN I arrivd at Hamburg out of Hull in November of the year 1649, I found a number of Scotch gentlemen who either had servd the late King, or intended to serve the present one, attending the orders and motions of the famous Marquesse of Montrose ; who haveing trusted too much to Vlefeld the Great Steuart of Denmarks promises of assistance, found himselfe disappointed by that faithles minister of estate, who afterwarde went faire to betray both his prince and countrey. This obliged the Marques to retire himselfe to Gottenburg in the Suedish dominions, where he was underhand supported, bot very inconsiderable, by the great Queene Christina. If I had beene provided then with moneys, without which I could put myselfe in no equippage, I had runne the hazard of goeing to Scotland with the rest who accompanied the Marquesse, shorthlie after, in that last misfortunate and fatall expedition of his. Bot I could be master of no money till I came to Holland ; and therfor by my letter offerd my service to my Lord Marques, which the Lord Napier was pleasd to send under his couvert, and to which I had a very favorable returne, and invitation from the Marques to come to him, writ with his oune hand.

I went by land to Holland, accompanied with Colonell Sibbald, who carried letters from Montrose both to Scotland and Ireland. From Rotterdame I wrote with him to my wife at Edinburgh, to furnish him with a considerable peece of money, (for he was not well stored,) which she did; and he had his heade chopd of not long after at the Croffe of Edinburgh; so I losd both my friend and my money. My wife, in a stormie and tempestuous winter, gave me a visite in Holland; and having furnisht me with what I most stood in need of, returnd with much trouble and danger to Scotland. I pasd the rest of the winter in visiteing the best places in Holland; and in March of the yeare 1650, went to Breda to attend the treatie betueene the King and his Scottish subjects; the issue wherof was a gracious condiscendence of his Majestie to all or most of their demands; and with them he went to Scotland, accompanied with severall Lords, who after his arriveall were removd from him, and himselfe so used as I wish posteritie may never know.

I then put on a resolution to goe to Sueden, and under a notion to seeke some arreares were due to me, to see the glorie of the Suedish Court, and the magnificence of Christinas coronation. I arrivd at Elsfennure, where finding the wind turne contrare for some days, I alterd my resolution; and haveing seene the King of Denmark and his Court at Copenhagen, his statelie palace of Frederichsburg, and his strong castle of Cronenburg, I returnd to Holland, after I had endurd a horrible tempest at sea. I intended then to have gone to France, bot the late Earle of Southeske, then Lord Carnegie, perswaded me to accompanie him to Scotland. We landed the very night before Cromwell beate the Scottish armie at Dumbar. My Lord and I found, that the persecution of these who had assented to, or acted in Duke Hammiltons engadgment,

as it was calld, was as hote as ever; which obliged us that very night to depart the toune, and take up our lodgeing with a gentleman six miles from Aberdeene, where we had landed. My Lord and I parted at his fathers house of Kinnaird.

I went privatlie to Fife, where I had the comfort to meet with my deare wife, who haveing put her best things in the Castle of Edinburgh, and left the rest to their hazard, came and livd with me that winter at Disart.

About this time, the monstrous Remonstrance was hatchd; and if Lambert had not, by good fortune to us all, beaten Colonell Ker at Hammilton, I beleeve the King had beene just as safe at St Jonston, as his father was at Westminster. The desperate condition of affaires movd some of the best naturd of the Presbiterian cleargie to thinke of some meane, to bring as many hands to fight against the publike enemy as was possible; and therfor, notwithstanding all their acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Kirk to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in State or Militia, who would satisfie the Church, by a publike acknowledgment of their repentance for their acceffion to that sinfull and unlawfull Engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to serve him, to follow the Churches direction in this point. Heerupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Craufurd and Lauderdale, with many others, were admitted to Court, and numbers of officers refaved and put in charge, and entrusted with new levies. My guilt in affronting the Ministrie, (as they calld it) in the person of Mr Dick at Glasgou, and my other command in the West, retarded my admiffion very long; bot at length I am absolved, and made Adjutant Generall of the Foot; and after the misfortunate rencounter at Innerkeithen,

had once more Lieutenant Generall Holburns regiment given me by his Majesties command.

Behold a fearfull sinne ! The Ministers of the Gospell reffavd all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit ; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlaufull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our oune consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the allknoweing and allseeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearefull sinne hypocrisie is.

The defeate of that part of the armie at Innerkeithen, Cromwells march with most of his forces to St Jonston, whereby he cut of all succour of men and meate from the North, obliged the King, with the advice of the Committee of Estates, to lay present hold on occasion to leave the rebell behind him, and march with his whole armie from Stirline into England. The horse and dragoons might be about foure thousand ; and the foot, as I reckond them that day we marchd from Stirline parke, were upwards of nine thousand. A traine of artillerie of some field peeces and leather canon we had, with futeable amunition, under the conduct of Sir James Wemis Generall of the Artillerie. We got quicklie to English ground, bot with a great deale of mischiefe to all these poore Scotch people by whose dwellings we marchd, robbing and plundering being used by the sojors, even to admiration and inhumanitie. Neere to Carlile, the King is proclaind King of England and Ireland, with the great acclamations of the armie ; and severe commands made against all other robberies, plunderings and exactions ; which being put in execution by hanging tuo or three, were well enough observed, and very good order and discipline keepd the whole march,



I will not amuse myfelfe to relate all the particulars, circumstances, or mifcarieages of this unfortunate expedition, my intention being to fpeake of what befell myfelfe till this prefent yeare of God. In that armie I was Colonell of foot, and Adjutant Generall; and with no better fortune then I had when I exercd thefe charges in the yeare 1648.

Lambert and Harriefone being beaten from Warinton bridge, and all their Cheshire foot chacd away from them, the King declind to march ftraight to London, from which upon his approach it was thought the Parliament wold have removd to Windfor; and fo we went ftraight to Worcefter, where we lay till Cromwell came and facd us; and after three or foure days refpite, in which time he gathered a great bodie of the countrey traind bands, to the number of five and tuentie thoufand at leaft, befides his veteran armie; and then he forced us to fight on the third day of September, with a great deale of difadvantage both for ground and numbers, bot with much greater miffortune.

Heere was the gros of the royall armie routed; fome great officers efcapd, and three thoufand horfe with them; which bodie might have, no doubt, made a fecond warre in Scotland, bot falling in peeces by bad conduct, they came everie mothers fonne in the pouer of the enemy. His Majeftie, by the good hand of God, efcapd fafelie, and was prefervd to be a bleffing to his three kingdomes. The manner how, and what way he got out of England to France, notwithstanding all the means the rebells ufd to get him in their pouer, may be feene in the hiftorie of his life written by Edward Philips.

Many thoufands were carried away prifoners to London, to give

the people ane assured demonstration of Cromwells unquestionable victorie. Among the rest I was one. At or neere Oxford, the Marshall Generall (who indeed was as civill as a man of his charge could be,) exacted from the Lords, Officers and Gentlemen, who were prifoners, a parole and revefe fignd with their hands, to be faithfull prifoners, which most of all willinglie did ; bot Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond knowing I intended to endeavour my escape, refused to signe, leaft I, being the onlie person that wold not subscribe it, might have beene the worfe used. The second night of our stay at Oxford, with the helpe of our hoste, a barger, a barbour, and a shoemaker, I got out of the top of the house, and thorough ane other voyd house, escapeing all our guards both of horse and foot, not without obstructions and some merrie passages, the memorie wherof was afterwards pleafant, thogh then I runne tuice the neere hazard of breakeing my necke. I lay tuo days and nights in the garret of a new house, which had neither doore nor window in it. The searck, which was not very strict, being over, and the prifoners with their guards prettie well advanced towards London, I creepd out of my retreat, and in a very pitiefull disguise, accompanied with halfe a dozen of watermen, (who had all served the late King as fojors,) tooke my journey straight to London. The first day I walkd afoot to Morley, which was tuentie miles from Oxford ; but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes which I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last tuo miles. Lustie, strong and loyall fellows they were, bot extreamlie debauchd. They misd not one alehouse in the way, and my paying for all the ale and beere they dranke (for I thanke God they wold drinke no wine,) did not at all

trouble me ; but it was a vexation to me to drinke cup for cup with them, els they fould have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was neceffitated to reveale myfelfe, my honneft barger goeing before us all the way a horfebacke, and fo ferving us for a fcout. At Morley I hird ane old carkaffe of a horfe from a knaveifh old fellow, who made himfelfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me verie broadlie ; and indeed I was in fo wofull a plight that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceavd that ever I had beene ane officer in any armie of the world. On horfebacke I came from Bramford, thretteene miles from Morley, and feven from London, and rode thorough at leaſte tuo hundreth red coates that had convoyd my countrey-men to Tittlefield ; bot was well ſecoded in paſſing them by my truſtie comerades, the watermen. At Bramford I tooke oares, and in the night time landed at Weſtminſter ſtaires, which I had never ſeene ; for I came in ane evill houre to London, where I had never beene before. I was lodgd that night with ane honneſt Welchman, to whom my barger reveald what I was ; that he might make me knoue to ſome of the Royal lpartie, for I had no acquaintances in that great citie.

After I had reposed myfelfe tuo days, wherof I ſtood in great need, ſome clothes, linnens and a litle money, were ſent me by three honneſt men, and brought to me by my hoſte. The clothes I accepted, bot refuſd the money, and nixt night I was brought by water to the citie, to the three gentlemen who had ſent me ſo ſure tokens of their kindnes, and whom I had never ſeene all my life before. Three loyall perſons they were, who, after they had made themſelvs knoue to me, they deſired a particular rehearſeall of the King's miſfortunate expedition, and his loſſe at Worceſter ; which they heard with as grievd hearts

as I related it. They thought it fit to lodge me in a publike inne within the citie, and entrusted me to the care of the drawer, who was both ane honest and ane understanding fellow. That house I changed, and so did I many others, till I lighted on the house of ane honest widow, who had no creature in the house with her bot her oune daughter; and there indeed I was as secure as if I had beene in my mothers house. Severall appointments were made betueene my three noble friends and me, and all punctuallie keepd. Their kindness I can never forget, unles I intend to accuse myselfe of the higheft ingratitude. They entrusted me with a message to the King, wherein his Majestie was neerlie concernd, which I faithfullie deliverd to him at Paris.

Immediatlie after the first time I had spoke with these three Royalists, I went back to Westminster, to take my leave of my honest barger and watermen, who had by that time ended their busieness; for the watermen were led as witnesses of a ryot, alledged to have beene committed by the barger, and if the matter was referd to their oath, I need not doubt bot he was affoyld, let his guilt be what it wold. I was given out all the way from Oxford to be a witness also; I was borne in a countrey village in Oxfordshire, where I had never seene or learnd any good manners or breeding; and I was called Richard, or Dicke; bot I changed that and five or six more names before I got out of London. After I had drunke a dozen of beere with them, I offerd everie one of them a tuentie shilling peece of gold as a token of my thankfullnes, bot I could not for my heart persuade any of them to take it; onlie I movd each of them to take halfe a croune, wherwith they said they wold drinke my health in their returne to Oxford; and so after many embraces we parted. The like honestie I met with at Oxford before;

for neither my barbour nor shoemaker wold, for any intreatie of mine, take either gold or moneys from me; bot they tore away all the ribbands that were on my clothes, and said they wold weare them till the Kings restoration, which they said they were sure wold be nixt yeare. Colonell Prides sonne haveing given me faire quarter when he tooke me, I had savd some of my gold; and when I made my escape, Generall Dalyell had lent me ten peeces, one wherof I gave to my hostesse at Oxford, when she lighted me to the garret of her house; ane other I gave to the bargers wife as a token. Sixe I spent in my tuo days journey to London; the rest maintaind me well enough till I was supplyd out of Scotland.

When I went abroad, I did it either by coach or water; for the streets were full of Scotsmen, especiallie sojors, who might have wrongd me with unseasonable kindnes. For the most part I keepd my chamber; and then I had time and leifure enough to reflect on the deplorable condition of the King and all the Royall familie, of the three kingdomes, especiallie my native countrey of Scotland, now reduced to a province by the most insolent of Rebels. But, *proximus esto tibi* is so true a saying, and so agreeable to mother Nature, that . . . . . and therefore I feriouflie considered the evill aspect of my oune particular affaires, the many tryalls and afflictions I had met with in the course of my life, and what a great one I had now to wrastle with, my wife haveing beene in Dundee when it was taken, a world of blood spilt in it, the toune sackd and plunderd. This I knew at Oxford, but did not, nor could not, learne what had becomd of my deare wife, till three weeks after my comeing to London; and then I was certainlie informed that she had savd nothing of all she had of moneys,

clothes and mooveables, except the cloths she had upon her ; bot that her life was saved, and that she was returned on foot to Disart. I was exceedingly comforted to heare that her life was given to us as a prey, for which mercy I bleſt God. The miſfortune of dolefull Dundee fell on the firſt day of September, and ours in England on the third thereof. My wife and I, by our mutuall letters, underſtanding of each others wellfare, I recommended her to the divine Providence, who in his oune good time wold bring us together againe.

I durſt not hazard to goe out of England, till it was knoune that his Majeſtie was ſafeſie arrivd at Paris. The ſearch then not being ſo ſtrict, I reſolved to be gone either for Holland or France. I had kept a conſtant correſpondence with Lieutenant Generall Middleton, then priſoner in the Toure, by Major Strachan, now Sir John Strachan. I ſtill affurd him, for my intelligence by my Engliſh friends was very good, that his life wold be taken, ſo ſoone as he was cured of a ſhot he had reſſavd in his bodie ; and therfor had layd doune three ways for his eſcape ; one of them being by a falſe key to open his chamber doore (whill Strachan ſould be drinking with the keeper in ane alehouſe,) and diſguiſed in a blacke ſute of apparrell, with a periwig of red haire, to walke at all leiſure out of the Toure, accompanied with Captaine Hay, (who was bot ſlenderlie rewarded for this faithfull ſervice,) and ſo ſould goe to the lodgeing I had provided for him. This way, I ſay, was that wherby he obtaind his libertie. The preſence they had to put him to death was, that he had broke his parole in eſcapeing out of priſon at Berwick, as they alledged. He pretending not to be guiltie of this alledged crime, his neereſt friends not feareing his life, prevaild with him not to hazard the loſſe of his eſtate in Scot-

land, which wold be affuredlie forfeited if he broke out of prifon. Upon this advice he fent me a meffage by Major Strachan, fhewing me his refolutions, and defird me to put myfelfe to no further hazard for him, bot be gone as foone as I could to the King. He fent me a memoriall of what I was to fay to the King from him, as alfo to all his friends at Paris. I was trulie forry to fee him fo eafilie perfuaded to put his life in fo needles a hazard ; bot feeing my ftay was to no purpofe, I prepar'd to make my efcape out of England, as I had done out of Oxford. To this did exceedinglie help me, a paffe which one Mr Harrie Knox, ane expectant minifter, had got by the Counteffe of Devonfhires meanes, from the pretended Councell of State. He altering his refolution of goeing to France, gave me the paffe ; and after I had ftayd three or foure nights with a fifter of mine in Kentfhire, I came to Dover, accompanied with one Mafter Simfone, a brother of my brother in laws. I was more ftrictlie lookd to and examin'd then was ordinarie ; and one James Tours, a Scotfman duelling there, was brought to fee and fpeake with me. He was like to undoe me with questions. I found it was neceffare to try his honeftie ; for imprifonment was the worft could befall me, haveing never broke either word or writ ; for I thinke faith fould be keepd to the worft of men. Whill the Governor Colonell Temple was boweing his heade to fpit, I gave Mr Tours a figne wherby he might foone know I was not the true Mr Harie Knox. He provd ane honneft man, and indeed favd me, by not putting me to anfuere any more hard interrogatories. In a word, Colonell Temple could find me neither gentleman, minifter, fojor, or merchand ; bot a fervant to the old Earle of Morton, which James Tours knew well enough to be a ly.

The matter was this. Middletone had escapd out of the Toure the day before, and these at Dover haveing never seene him, and tuo hundred pounds being offerd to any that could find him out, wold needs have me to be him. Bot being cleard of that very grosse errour by Mr Tours, I was sufferd to passe with the packet boate. My Ladie Middletone haveing found by some discourfes with Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Lamberts ladie, the truth of that I had so often averd, that they intended to put her husband to death, advisd him to fly and save his life; which he did, as I shew a litle before. I had acquainted Major Strachan with the mistres of my house, and she promisd to make the gueft I entrusted to her very wellcome; and safe enough he was all the time he stayd in London, thogh the searck was strict enough was made for him. He pasd under the name of Master Andersone, and Major Strachan was at that time Andro Reid. I had entrusted none bot him, my brother in law, and the mistres of the house with the secret.

I had a letter to the King from the imprisond minifters, Middletons Memoriall, and some other papers of concernment, all which I clofd by way of packet in a sheet of paper, and gave them to James Tours to put in the boxe. They were directed to "Jacques Broune à Calais;" for I was to have that name at Paris, and all letters to me to be directed so. Nixt day when I arrivd at Calais, I went to the post house and paid eight sous for my owne packet. I had imparted to Mr Simfone Middletons escape, what hand and concern I had in it, conjurd him to haste to London, assureing him he wold find him at my old lodgeing; and withall I gave him my passe to carry him, which might serve Middletone to good use, provided he did not touch at Dover, which I beseechd him not to doe. Master Simfone went away



that night, after he had seene me boated, found Middletone in the appointed place, and did him very great service ; and indeed was the man that lodgd him at his fathers house in the countrey, five or fixe days, till he had agreed with a boate to carry him to France. Bot the master haveing got foure pounds in earnest, cheated them ; yet Master Simfone preparad and agreed with ane other vessell, the master wherof proveing honnest, landed Middletone and Major Strachan safelie in Normandie.

I made short stay at Calais, goeing with the first messenger, day and night, in a pitifull cold season, to Paris ; where, haveing kisd the Kings hands, I deliverd all my messages to him. I was graciouslie reffavd by his Majestie, and wellcomd by all my friends and acquaintances. Not long after, Liéutenant Generall Middletone arrivd, who sent for me before his comeing was knowne. I stayd a night with him, and nixt day brought my Lord Neuburgh to him, and the day after that, he went to Court at the Louver, where he had a most gracious reception from his Majestie, and a heartie wellcome of all attended him. The Marques of Ormond, and Sir Edward Hide, then Chanclor of the Exchequer, made up a knot of friendship with him, which I beleeve be yet to unty. This was displeasing to many who lovd none of those tuo ; for even then was this litle Court divided into factions and fractions.

Within a few weeks after his comeing, I retird to a private house in the fauxbourg or fuburbe of Saint Antonie, from the companie of all my countrey men, that I might learne some French ; the readeing, wri-teing, and understandeing which language I had, without any other helpe bot that of a grammar and dictionarie, studied during my impri-

fonment at Hull in the yeare 1649. Heere I stayd ten or tuelve weeks, till both the King of France and the Prince of Condes armies drawing neere that place where I lodged, made me retire into the Citie ; bot not before I saw the Prince his forces, after a stout resistance, beaten into the Port of Saint Anthonie ; which being shut, they had in all probabilitie bene sacrificed to Cardinal Mazarinis just revenge, if the Duke of Orleans had not forced the gunners of the Bastile to discharge all their canon against his master and nephew the King of France, who was personallie present with his armie ; and that his daughter Madamoiselle, had not, with her viragolike presence and eloquence, cajold the burgeses guards so well, that without consent of the magistrats, they opened the port, and suffered the Prince and the forces he had with him to march thorough the citie, and crosse the river of Sein at the New bridge.

Before this, the Archduke Leopold, taking his advantage, whill the King of France his suord is draune in his owne defence against the neereft Princes of his blood, marchd to Estampes, five leagues from Paris, yet did no great feats. Charles Duke of Lorraine marchd also with a flying armie of ten thousand men to Charenton, tuo leagues from Paris, with a resolution to joyne with the Princes. Him Marshall Turenne faced ; bot whill they prepare to fight, the King of Great Britaine mediats a truce, and obtaines it, by which the Duke was obliged to march speedilie out of France, and not to returne to it for fourteene days ; and so the Lorrainer marchd backe againe, plundering all before him according to his custome. This good office done to the French King, procurd to ours the evill will and hatred of his neereft kinred ; for indeed it ruind the Prince of Conde, and it stirrd

up againſt his Majeſty the populace, who breathd nothing ſo much as the deſtruction of Mazarini; even ſo farre as it was not ſafe for the King to entruſt himſelfe longer in the Louver, or for his followers to ſtay longer in Paris. The Palace of St Germans in the Lay is by the King of France his command provided for him. Thither he goes with the Queene his mother, and his ſiſter Princeſſe Henrietta; for the Duke of Yorke before that, had gone to Mareſhalle Turenne to look after adventures, and perſite the ſkill he allreadie had in the militarie art. Moſt of theſe who attended the Court followd him; and I accompanied thither General Middletone. We went by boate, and in great danger of robbers and voleurs, the river being but narrow, and the tuo armies on both ſides of it. He had, a litle before that, got a comiſſion to be Captaine Generall of all his Majeſties forces in the kingdom of Scotland; and he was to haſten to Holland and other places, where he might expect any aſſiſtance of moneys from well affectionate Scotſmen, wherwith to provide armes and amunition for theſe who were allreadie afoot for the King in the Hiellands.

I was appointed by him to goe to the Low Countreys before him, and waite his comeing at the Haag; bot I was neceſſitated to ſtay till the true Maſter Harie Knox (who had beene ſent with letters to the King from the priſoners in the Touer) was diſpatchd; and that could not be done in a ſhort time, being ſome of the priſoners, and the Chieſes of theſe who were in armes in the hills, wold be ſatiſfied with no letters bot ſuch as were all writ with the Kings oune hand. He being diſpatchd, and I haveing kiſd the Kings hands, Sir Johne Keith, brother to the Earle Marſhall, David Ramſay, Mr Knox and I, made a pleaſant journey in the beginning of September 1652 to Rowen, where I had a

care to see Mr Haries papers so well packd up in shoes and slippers, that they were bot in small hazard of any discoverie. He went for England, and deliverd all his letters and instructions, many of which were sent to the hills, bot neither in one place or other did these papers, which the King had writ with so much trouble, produce the wished effect of union, bot in the contrare disunited men of one interest; which may be imputed to the perfidious wrong superscriptions, interlineings and misdeliveries of his Majesties letters; all which the late Chanclor of England, the Earle of Clarendon, did in the yeare 1660, a little before the King was proclaimed in England, in a long discourse with me at Breda, lay at my Lord Balcarris doore, how trulie, I shall not judge.

Sir Johne Keith and I went from Rouen by land to Diepe, from that by sea to Calais, where finding a little vessell readie bound for Flushing, we embarked that night. Nixt morning, passing by Dunkirke, we were examin'd by ane Admirall of a Spanish fleet, which keepd that toune blockd up by sea. There we saw tuo great guns fire often from a batterie at land against the toune; for Leopold haveing taken Graveline, had besee'd Dunkerke also, then keepd by the French. It was not long after surrenderd to him, wherein the English were very instrumentall; for the Duke of Vendosme being sent by the French King with a strong navie, in which he carried recruits of men, moneys, victualls and amunition, the English, farre too strong, set upon him, and carried his fleet to England; and after Dunkirk had yeelded to the Spaniard, they releas'd the ships, and landed all their men in French ground.

Sir Johne Keith and I being dismiss'd by the Spanish Admiral, landed

that night at Flushing. From thence we went to Roterdame, where we found my Ladie Middletone with much longing expecting her husband. She had her brother with her, Major Durhame, afterwards a titular Colonell, Sir Alexander Durhame, and Lyon King of Armes. When I was at Amsterdame about some particular busienes, my Ladie had a meſſage from Breda, that her husband the Generall was arrived there, very sick of a tertian. She went thither; and not long after, I came to him at that same place. Within a month he was in a capacity to make dispatches; and I was sent with a commission from him, and many letters from the King, to some places in Low Germanie, to seeke the assistance of such Scotch gentlemen as I had formerlie been acquainted with in the German warre. In all these journeys, I was my owne purfemafter; and spending my owne, I found myſelfe countable to no man. I began my journey the first of November, 1652; a very bad time of the yeare to travell day and night with a poſte. In Februaire next I returned to the Generall, bringing with me fifteene hundred dollars. In Aprile 1653, I was sent backe to some other places; and that summer I reſſaved three thousand foure hundred dollars, which I sent to the Generall by bill of exchange, retaining for my charges ſo much as he was pleaſed to allow me. What I had done encouragd him to ſend his brother in law, Durhame, to Sueden; where our countrymen contributed for the Kings assistance about ſeven or eight thousand dollars, beſides what was got in Holland from well-affected Scotsmen there, and five thousand guldens which the Princeſſe Royall advanced.

That summer I deſired my wife to give me a viſite in a ſtrange land once more, and to meet me at Bremen, which ſhe readily did, and in.

June arrivd safelie there ; the which meeting, after all these traverfes, was exceeding comfortable to me. I could not learne what keepd the Generall so long in Holland ; waiting whose orders, I stayd still at Bremen with my wife, not onlie all that summer and harvest, bot nixt winter also. I had advisd him to give no comissions till he came to the hills, that everie mans merite might be cognosed on. This he faithfullie promisd, bot forgot it ; for he gave bot too many, and among others, one was sent to me, to exerce the same charges I had at Worcester, which I accepted.

In Februare 1654, the Generall made saile from Amsterdame to Cathnes, accompanied with my Lord Napier, Sir George Monro, Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond, and many other gentlemen ; and though he had promisd to fend for me, that I might goe along with him, yet he did it not, bot wrote to me to follow him. In Aprile nixt I entrusted myselfe to ane honnest skipper, who livd in Bremen, bot had beene borne in Scotland. I resolvd to goe with him to Norway, where he was to take in a loadeing of timber, and from thence to Fife ; and so cast myselfe on Providence, it not being possible for me to forsee how I could get to the hills from that place. After tuentie days tempestuous voyage at sea, we arrivd at Norway ; and after a months stay there, we went againe to sea, and on the ninth day came to the coast of Fife. I went ashore beside Enster, in the night time, being then in June. I sufferd the skipper to take all my clothes, pistolls, carabines and saddles with him, all which he burried under ground at Culros. After some privat stay in Fife, I was furnisht with tuo indifferent good horses, by tuo noble and loyall gentlemen ; and haveing got most of my things with great hazard and diffi-

cultie out of Culros, and meeting with five or fixe officers of the armie, (for so they calld themselvs) I went to the hilles as farre as Locherne, where I met with some others, who pretended to a great desire they had to be with the armie. I encouragd them much to so loyall ane action, bot found it was not their earnest; for they did bot leade me up and doune the countrey, without ever draueing neere the armie; which they might easilie have done, it being then at the heade of Loch Tay, from whence it removeing, and Monck follouing, it was never possible for me afterwards to come to it.

A guarrison of English, both foot and horse, lying at Drummond Castle, I lurkd some time about Locherne, with very much danger; and at that time, I had the bad fortune to see numbers of horfmen which belongd to the Kings armie passe that way, seekeing to get to their severall homes; haveing taken a libertie to themselvs to disband, after ane unhappie rencounter at Lochgarie betueene Generall Middleton and Morgan, wherein the royall partie was worsted, bot with the losse of very few men. I spoke with most of these horfemen, and found they were all willing to continue in the service, if their horfes were put in case, who were all pitifullie beaten, and that they had put themselvs in some better equippage, which indeed I saw to be as bad as could well be imagind. Upon confideration heerof, I wrote to the Earle of Glencairden, who haveing done some handsome things before Middletones arriveall, had acquird the affection of both the countrey and foldierie, bot upon some dissatisfaction given him, had left the Generall, and retird himselfe with some Lords and Gentlemen, to the Ile of Makfarlen. I sent my letter (a copie wherof I keepd, and yet doth) by a trustie hielander. In it, I adjurd his Lordship by all that was

or could be deare to him, to appoint a rendezvous for these disperſed troopers, if he pleaſd, three weeks after the date of the letter ; aſſureing him they wold punctuallie keepe it, as men who were very readie to obey all his orders ; and withall offerd my ſervice in it, or any thing els wherein he conceavd me able to advance the grand deſigne of his Majeſties ſervice. I reſſavd his anſuere, which did not at all pleaſe me ; for by it my Lord told me, he could doe none of theſe things I deſird him ; being he was layd aſide as ufeles to the King or his ſervice ; with ſome other expreſſions of reſſentment of the injuries had beene done him. This made me ſenſible that the Kings affaires in that countrey were all out of frame, and made me conclude it neceſſaire, that he who was moſt concernd ought to know his oune condition, and that it could be repreſented to him by no fitter perſon than myſelfe, who I found could doe him no good where I was. And heerupon I put on a reſolution to get out of Scotland as ſoone as I could.

To this purpoſe of mine, a faire occaſion offerd itſelfe. One Menyies, a lieutenant of horſe, had about eighteene or tuentie troopers, and a trumpeter, with him ; and theſe five officers who came with me out of Fife, ſtucke ſtill cloſe to me. All of them haveing intelligence that there was 200 paire of piſtolls in a houſe of Kircaldie, they had ſome thoughts of goeing thither to make a purchaſe of them. When they had communicated the matter to me, I fullie perſuaded them to give it the hazard. On our ſecond days march, we came to ane ale-houſe in Glendeven, where they conferd the command of the partie on me. There being good ale there, I cauſd them all drinke luſtilie, and payd for the breuvage, a thing not uſuall at that time in theſe parts. Haveing given the word and ſigne, I march before with my five officers,



and my fervant, inverting the ordinarie custome of *enfants perdus*, or forlorne hopes, and orderd Menyies to follow at a litle distance with the rest. It was towards the evening, and I had not rode a full mile, when I discovered a partie of above threttie well mounted men of the enemie, Scots and English. By providence I had on both my hands tuo litle rising hills, betweene which I tooke my place with my officers, the enemie being below me in no good rideing ground. I resolvd to ressave his charge; bot I sent my fervant immediatlie to Menyies, commanding him to gallop up with his partie, and to cause his trumpet sound a charge all the way. The enemie and I had trifled away the time with inquireing for whom we were, thogh both of us knew we were not one for ane other. At length, when I heard our trumpet, I bid one of my officers tell we were for God and King Charles, and cryd aloud myselfe, that English fould have quarter, bot Scots none; and so charged. On our side no pistoll was discharged bot mine, all the rest being unfixed; on the other, one carabine and a pistoll, which last was shot at me. The enemie runne baselie, and my partie pursued eagerlie, Menyeis being a man stout enough and well mounted. After we had pursued by the helpe of the moone about a mile and a halfe, I could find a retreat. Sixe of the enemie were kild, and foure taken; to one wherof, Jonston, a Scot, bot borne in Ireland, I had given quarter, Menyeis unworthillie kild in cold blood. He cravd me pardon for it; I desired him to beg Gods pardon for so unchristian ane action, and so paid it, because I durst not challenge it. The mischief was, he made his peace shortlie after with the English governour of Sainet Jonston, and suore to him that he had kild that poore man by my order, haveing said no Scot fould have quarter; for which the English

vowd to cut me in peeces where ever they found me. That night, we refresht in the wood of Kincairden ; neither did I thinke it at all fitting for my partie to pursue their designe of Kircaldie, or me my intention to get into Fife. I was that night divested of my command ; neither could I by any intreatie move Menyies to march quicklie to the hills, knowing these of Falkland and Brunt Iland wold be quicklie after us, and these of St Jonston might be before us. The truth is, he had a localitie therabout, and looking more after money than men from the countrey people, he protracted the time so long as the English gave us the chase. Menyies wold have beene at killing the other three prisoners, whom partlie with intreatie, and partlie with horrible threatnings of ane after revenge, I saved ; they crying still to me to keepe parole to them, and had learnd well enough, thogh against my will, both my name and charge.

After this, I shifted myselfe from these plundering fellows, and having put away both my horses and my arms, except one short sword, I resolvd to get into Fife all alone, sending my servant away a foot clothd as a countrey fellow. The first night I was kindly entertaind at supper by my Ladie Breko and her sonne. He went to take up his bed, as he used, in the mos ; and I went on in my travells with a guide. The second night, the moone being eclipsed, I never in all my life felt or saw so sad and so heavie a raine, nor so palpable a darke night, thogh in the midst of August. My poore guide, who was honest enough, mistakeing his way, as it was no wonder, brought me in a mosse, in which he, my horse and I were well neere drownd. After much tumbling, we got out ; bot he, who at best was scarce halfe witted, grew almost distracted with feare, not apprehending the true reason

of fo great a darknes and raine. My feare was, that his feare fould make him difert me, and therfor I comforted him, ever and anone putting a fhilling in his hand, and promifeing him greater matters. My confidence brought him a litle to himfelfe; bot I was glad when I movd him to laugh, by telling him that he needed not feare the white collar of my horfe, which, when I met with him, he faid wold make me difcernable in the night time; "for," faid I, "the moffe hath made him, you and me fo blacke, that we may paffe for blackamores." The poore fellow brought me at length to ane honneft mans houfe, and there he left me, after I had, to his oune thinking, overrewarded him for his nights fad turmoile. This honneft man brought me, a litle before day, to a friends houfe, where I defird to be. There I repofd tuo days; and after ten days longer fojourning with fome others, I got to Enfter, where I found ane honneft fkipper bound for Oftend. After I had lurkd foure days at ane honneft mans houfe in that litle toune, I embarkd, and with a faire wind in three days time arrivd at Oftend; being as glad to get out of Scotland as I was three years before to get out of England.

After I had viewd that strong place, famous for the three yeares fiege it ftood out againft the Archduke Albert, I went by Bruges and the Sluce of Flanders to Vlufhing, and from thence to Traveré, where I was informed by that loyall gentleman, Sir Patrik Drummond, that the King had beene, with his fifter the Princeffe Royall, at the Spaw waters, and was then at Aken, the firft and antienteft Imperiall toune of Germanie, the ordinarie refidencé of Charles the Great, and famous for its hote bathes; the citie and many places about it, ftanding above immeafurable, and almoft incredible fubterraneous fulphu-

reous hote waters, wherby many infirm, lame and diseased persons are cured. I went by Dort to Gorcum, from thence to the Busch. There I took waggon, and passed through the land of Liege to Mastricht. From that strong toune my nixt days journey was to Aken, paying money all the way to the Spanish fojors for my life. I arrivd there the 20th day of September, and rested that night.

Nixt day I addressd myfelfe to the Vicount of Neuburgh, who was very loth to beleeeve the bad news I told him. Houever he brought me to the King, to whom, after I had kissd his hand, I shew that the losse of men at Lochgarie was not at all confiderable ; yet, for all that, the condition of his affaires in that countrey was bot bad, if the troopers disbanding and discontent of some of the Lords were rightlie confiderd. The last of these tuo seemd strange to him, as haveing heard nothing of it before ; bot I offerd to make it appear to him by my Lord Glencairns oune letter. His Majestie seemd to be well satisfied with my freedome, and orderd me to bring the letter to him after dinner, which I did ; bot feareing he wold keepe it, I tooke a perfite copie of it, which I have yet by me. I was admitted to the bedchamber, and none else bot my Lord Neuburgh. So soone as the King lookd upon the letter, he said it was all my Lord Glencairns oune hand. Many discourfes he had with me ; he said he wold shortlie send armes and amunition to his Generall ; he commanded me to waite on my Lord Neuburgh and Chancellour Hide nixt day, and give them ane exact and particular account of all I knew concerning his affaires in Scotland. He told me withall, he wold keepe Glencairns letter, thogh written to me. I told his Majestie, the letter was in the right hand, he being most concerned in it ; and so I was dismissd.

Nixt day in the afternoone, I met the Chanclor and Vicount Neuburgh at a convent of Franciscan fryars, and gave them that account the King had commanded me to doe. I found it was good for me I had Glencairns letter to produce, a copie wherof, and of mine to his Lordship, I gave the Chancellor to reade; for without them, these tuo were apt enough to question the truth of that part of my relation, concerning the misunderstanding betueene the Generall and Glencairne. They wold have it to be onlie betueene that Lord and Sir George Monro. I told them that indeed it beganne betueene these tuo, bot did not end there. The Chanclor then askd me, if I wold not goe where the King thought fit to send me. I replyd, at the Kings command I wold goe to Japan. He merrilie anfuered, Japan wold be out of my way. I told him it could not be out of my way if the King sent me there. Bot perceiveing his designe was to send me back to Scotland with letters, I said I was readie to go, bot it was fit to let his Majestie know before hand, I was a very improper person to employ in ane accommodation of tuo persons, to neither of which I was acceptable; for Middleton had shoune how small respect he had for me in severall particulars, which I wolde forbear to speake of. Glencairne, and the other Lords, wold looke on me as a fojor, and so one of those who they thought had cabald together to suppress the nobilitie. This was no excuse, bot a certaine and reall truth. After this free language, I was no more desird to goe to the Highlands. A choyce was made of Colonell Borthwick, to carry the Kings pleasure and letters to his Generall, Glencairne and the other Lords. Bot his negociation did the King litle good, and proved exceedinglie misfortunate to himselfe, as his foure yeares imprisonment at Bruges can too well testifie.

I stayd a month in that toun, partlie to see my old acquaintances, whom I knew not when I fould see againe; partlie to cure myself of a diseafe which is epidemicall allmost in the place from whence I brought it, the Hielands; I meane the ich or scab, the hote bathes of of that citie being excellent for it. Then I got his Majesties passe to goe to Bremen, bot not to leave his service. Haveing kissd his and the Princeesse Royalls hands, and taken my leave at Court, I left Aken the very same day. His Majestie went to Collen, and went backe to Maftricht, with Colonell Borthwick, and George Arnot, at that time page to his Majestie. From thence we went doune the river Mase by boate, to Rurmond and Venlo, and so to Gennep house. There we tooke waggon and went to Nimmeghen, where, after a nights stay together, we parted. I crofd the River of Wall, and by land went to Utrecht, and from thence to Roterdame. I staid some time in Holland, and went to the Hag, to give the Queene of Bohemia ane account of my summers expedition; and I found it fit to doe so; for a report had come to her eares, that in my discourfes at Aken I had reflected on Generall Middleton; and she being a Princeesse who had a kindnes for all Scotfmen, did not love to heare that we fould doe one ane other any bad office.

It was now winter, and in the midft of November, when I beganne my journey from Amfterdame to Bremen. I had a cold and troublesome passage of it; bot God be praisd arrivd safelie there in ten days time. There I had the comfort to find my sueet wife in good health, having myselfe passd the yeare 1654 with as much trouble and anxietie of mind, fatigue of bodie, and danger both at land and sea, as any yeare I ever passd in my life. A litle before I went to Scotland, the citie of Bremen had commenced a warre with Count Konighsmark the

Suedish generall in these parts, and had continued it whill I was in Scotland, with varieous succeffe; bot at the long runne, they were forced, shortly after my returne, to accept of a disadvantageous peace, after a very chargeable warre. In it they surpris'd a sconce called Burg, which the Sueds had taken from them, where Colonell Forbes my thrice noble friend was killd. He was brother to the Lord Forbes, Governour of Stade, a gentleman of much honor, gallantrie and integritie.

I had time enough to rest my selfe the whole next yeare, 1655. It was then that Charles Gustave king of Sueden, broke the peace with Pole, fixe yeares before the expiration of it, and invaded that kingdome with a prodigious succeffe. A passe was sent me by one of his Field Marshalls, Count Wittemberg, at the solicitation of some of my friends, and an invitation to come to him, who then had enterd Polonia Major. Bot I knew how displeasing it wold be to the King, that any professing loyaltie to him, shoud serve a prince who had allied himselfe so strictlie with Cromwell. I excus'd my selfe for not goeing, bot keepd the passe, which yet I have by me. In the summer 1655, Generall Dalyell came over to Bremen from Scotland in a disguise. He told me Lieutenant Generall Drummond was gone to Holland, and that all being los'd in Scotland, Generall Middleton would shortly be with the King; and so he was, and whill he was at Court, severall letters past betueene him and me. After Dalyell had stayd three or foure days with me, he went with the poste to Amsterdame; neither did I see him againe, till his returne from Moscovia, which was not till ten yeares after.

Next harvest, my wife, intending for Scotland, went a boord of a ship, and was full seven Dutch leagues on her way from Bremen, when the wind proveing contrarie, by Gods good providence, I alterd my re-

folution, and went doune the river of the Wefer, and brought her backe, that I might enjoy her company the enfuing winter. This was a great mercy; for that fhip wherein fhe was to goe, after fixe weeks tempeftuous toffing at fea, was glade to get backe to the river, pitifullie fpoyle, and three of her men dead. Not long after, a very heavie and grievous concatenation of difeafes feazed on my wife, which keepd her feven full months; and indeed I had reafon to feare the worft; bot by the goodnes of God fhe was at length reftored to health, to my exceeding great joy. In the nixt Spring of the yeare 1656, we found there was a neceffitie for me to looke fomewhere for a fubfiftence, and fo for us to part for a time. This was a grieve to us both; bot it was our duetie to fubmit to Gods good pleafure. We refolvd therfor to goe firft to Holland, and advice there further; and accordinglie came by fea to Amfterdame, in the beginning of May.

There I found Generall Middletone, who the yeare before had beene gracieouflic reflaved by the King at Collen. He was then comd to Holland about fome affaires. A little before my arriveall, Dalyell and Drummond had fhipd for Riga, in order to their journey to Mufco. I found the Generall civill enough to me, and after fome faire expoftulations on both parts, we were, as I thought, very good friends. The King keepd then his court at Bruges. A kind of league betueene him and the King of Spaine (who had enterd in a mortall warre with the Ufurper) being clapt up, many great things were promifd by the Spaniard, few of them performed; yet under him, the king and all his followers had fhelter. Thither Middletone went, and I promifd to follow very foone after.

Finding no paffage from Amfterdame to Scotland, I tooke my wife



from thence to Roterdame ; and after a months stay there, and the Haag, I found a good vessell bound for Leith, and in it my wife embarked. William Bruce, now Sir William, and Baronet and Cleark of the Bills, was likewise a passenger ; at which I was glad, knowing he would doe my wife all the good offices he could. I went with her below the Briell, where with a very sad heart I tooke my leave of her ; finding then how sensible and touching a sorrow it is, to part with a beloved yokefellow. I thought this separation of mine from her did too neare resemble death ; for I had no visible ground for any hope to see her againe ; I not being permitted to come to the countrey whither she was going, and there being but small probability that I could expect any fortune so soone as might invite her to come and take a share of it. Bot

*Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus :*

The starres above governeth men below,  
Bot the Allmightie rules the starres, we know.

We put our trust in God, and He, who never deserted these who put their confidence in him, did not disappoint us. She landed safely, notwithstanding of a storme, and a great many Spanish capers at sea. I had provided my wife, on all hazards, with his Majesties passe, which served well enough against the Spaniards.

I hastened to Bruges, where having kissed the King and Duke of Gloucesters hands, (for the Duke of Yorke was not yet come from France, though daily expected,) I found the designe to send Generall Middleton to Dantzick and Pole very farre advanced ; and in the beginning of October his dispatches were ready. Great sommes were promised to be

sent to him from Bruxells, for leavieing ane armie there. The King of Poles affection to our King, in hatred to Cromwell, was not to be doubted ; bot assistance of moneys from Scotch merchands in Pole, was bot a speculation. It could not in reason be lookd for, after they had beene so well fleeced foure or five yeares before, by Master Crofts now Lord Crofts. I was appointed to attend the Generall thither ; who tooke also along with him his brother in law Colonell Durhame.

Before we went from Flanders, the King, by permission of Don Juan of Auftria, raised three regiments, one of English, under the Earle of Rochester, formerlie Lord Wilmot ; the second of Scots, under Generall Middleton ; the third of Irish, under Ormond. Two more were added after, and all were put under the command of his Royall Hienes the Duke of Yorke. All the Captaines were to be Lords, Knights or Colonells ; at least fixteene Captaines were ordered to be of the Scots, wherof I was one. Bot being commanded away with the Generall, I never saw my companie, nor reaped benefite by it, except a hundredth and fiftie guldens.

A little money was advanced to the Generall at Court, which was all well neere spent before we got out of Amsterdame. We stayd so long there that my Lord Neuburgh was sent to haste us away. Sir William Davidstone, now Conservator, agreed with a vessell to transport us. It was loaden with Renish and French wines. He put in also abundance of provisions for our voyage ; and so on the twelfth of November we embarkd, and were a full month at sea in very cold weather, before we got to Elfennure. Five days did scarce bring us from it to Coppenhagen, thogh it be bot five Dutch leagues ; and there we were frozen in till the midst of Januare. The Generall livd in that

place incognito, which the Spanish Embassador tooke not very well. A thaw coming on, in three days time we landed at the Mund, a very strong place in the mouth of the Weichsell, a German league from Dantzick. There we found the Swedish Generall Konighsmark close prisoner, who had beene taken at sea, not without suspicion of foule play of some of our countrey men under his command. At Dantzick, some of the Scots merchants, especiallie Masters Dumbar and Gallenden, made us wellcome. Numbers of my Lord Cranftouns regiment came over to us, whom we too soone entertained, haveing libertie from the Magistrats, (who wellcomd and entertained the Generall with all imaginable civilitie,) to levie privatlie. Seven days before our arrivall, the King of Pole, to our great grief, was gone from Dantzick, where he had winterd three months. The Generall sent his Majesties letter to the King of Pole, by a convoy which was going to him. The great Chancellor of Pole wrote to the Generall, and invited him to come to his Master, where he assured him he should be very wellcome; the letter was in Latine. A faire occasion was offered us of a convoy of five hundred foot that were to march to the King; but the Generall wanting money, we were forced to stay. He wrote some formall excuses to the Chancellor. I was desired to pen the letter in Latine, (for I was all the secretarie he had both for that and the Hie Dutch languages,) and it was shoune to two Polonian senators, before it was sent away.

No money being sent from Flanders, and the Generalls and mine being exhausted, we borrowed from the Magistrats, and private persons also, more than is yet well payd. That being spent also, we were forced to disband our sojors, and recommend them to a German Baron, who was levieing for the King of Denmark. Not long after that we were ne-

ceſſitated to leave the inne where we lodged, and take up houſes apart, where we keepd bot a very forrie menage. Our credite was gone, our moneys were ſpent, and all we had except our wearing clothes was impauned; and in that pitifull condition, we breathd rather than livd three months. Many conſolotarie letters were writ to the Generall from the Court, bot becauſe in ſome of his he had expoſtulated a little for his bad uſage, a countreyman of mine did me the good office to informe Chancellor Hide, that I had ſtird up the Generall to be diſſatisfied with the whole Court. This was moſt malitieouſlie done; for I could not have beene ſo wicked as to blame any about the King for our wants, in regard the Spaniſh miniſters not keeping promiſe to the King, it was impoſſible for him to ſupply us. Middletone endeavored to keepe me from knowing this; bot not haveing ſhoune me the laſt poſtes letters, a thing he did not uſe, I began to ſuſpect there was ſomething in the wind, and I handled the matter ſo with Durhame, that I got it out of him; which the Generall knowing, he gave me the letter to reade. I told him I wold write to the Chancellor; and beſeechd him, by his letter, to vindicate me of a crime, he knew beſt of any man, I was never guiltie of. He promiſd to doe it fullie, and was as good as his word. I wrote to the Chancellor, a letter faire enough, yet ſo tart, that he might ſoone know, I was ſenſible enough of the injurie was done me; to which letter of mine I reſſaved a very faire anſuere, when I was at Coppenhagen; and in effect, finding himſelfe abuſd by his informer, he aſkd me pardon; for ſuch are the very words of his letter. After that, I gave him a weeklie account of all the occurrences of Denmark.

After this paſſage, I repreſented to the Generall, how uſeles I was to

him, being all hopes of doing that we came for, were evanishd, and what time I lofd, being the most of Christendome were in action; I therfor desird him to permit me to goe and offer my service to the King of Denmark. This he granted me, and gave me a very ample testimonie of my faithfullnes and diligence, which I have yet a keeping. About this time, Sir William Davidfone had advanced me fiftie dollars, a person who owd me tuentie haveing payd me them, and old Mr Gallenden lending me tuentie more, (which fixe weekes after I honnestlie repayd,) I found myselfe in a condition to supply some wants at Dantzick, and make my voyage to the Sound. I tooke my leave of the foure burgomasters, to all of whom I was very particularly obliged; bot I told them I was goeing to Flanders, for further directions to the Generall from his Majestie. The Generall dismisd me with exceeding great kindnes, and many embraces; and being convoyd to the Mund, by Colonell Durhame, I embarkd for Denmark. Sixe days storme I stood out, and on the seventh, haveing a good wind, I landed towards the evening at Elsfennure. There I learnd from the postmaster, who was a Scotsman, the condition of Danish affaires, which was bot bad. I knew before I left Dantzick that the King of Sueden had forsaken Pole, and left Ragoski, the Transilvanian Prince, to his future fortune, and was on his march thorough Cassubbia, Pomerania, Meclenburg, and the territories of Lubeck; and by that time that I came to Denmark, he had got into Holstein, where, of ane armie of Danes, consisting of fixeene thousand men, not one facd him the whole way; the Sueds, in derision of the Danes couardise, hanging out lanternes over the steeples of all the villages, to know if therby they might see any to oppose them, since with daylight they could see none. To

Coppenhagen I went, where I was made wellcome by the Count of Ribelledo, the Spanifh Embaffador at that Court, and by him recommended to the Great Stewart, the fecond perfon of that kingdome. Bot he having gone at that time with the King to Jutland, where both his oune and the enemies forces were, I was forced to travell the whole length of the Ile of Zeland, the greateft of that kingdome ; to crofse the great Belt, a river foure Germane miles broad, which gives the name to the Baltick Sea, and to goe into Funen, where tuo yeares after, the Dane, with the helpe of the Hollander, gave the Sueds a totall defeate ; and at Odenfee, the principall toun of that Ile, I found the Court. This Great Stewart, or Grand Maiftre, as the French call him, or Reichs Hofmeister, as the Germans name him, made me wellcome, and recommended me to the Secretarie of Eftate for Denmark, (for there is ane other for Holftein,) with whom I guided the matter fo well, that at the Kings returne to Coppenhagen, I was brought to his prefence. I kifd his hand without kneeling, and offerd him my humble and faithfull fervice againft all his enemies. His Majeftie reffavd my compliment gracieoufly, and bad me expect my anfuere from his Secretarie of Eftate, whose name was Erich, or Henrie Krag. At this time, the Embaffadors of all Chriftendome were at that Court ; the Imperiall, Spanifh, Brandenburger, Polonian, and Mufcoviter, folliciting a vigorous profecution of the warre againft their common enemy ; the Sued, the French, Englifh and Hollander, mediating ane accommodation.

Tuo months after my comeing, about the end of October of the yeare 1657, Ulefeld, a Danifh Generall in Skonen, being kild, Henrie Lindanaw, one of the Nobleft in that province, was defignd to fucceed him. To him I was fent, with the Kings order to have a free fquadron of

dragoones, and to be Adjutant Generall of his armie. I had the Kings passe for free quarter and wagons. Takeing some Scotch officers along with me, and arriveing at Christianstat, (a skirvie litle toune, bot exceedingly well fortified,) where Lindanaw was governour, I deliverd him the Kings letter. He orderd a double centrie to be put to the doore of the inne where I lodged, and causd his toune major give me the word. Nixt day he invited me to dinner; and after he had well entertaind me with boules of wine, according to the custome of that countrey, he tooke me aside, and serieously askd me, if I thought that these at Court who sat at the helme of affaires were all in their right wits. I told him it was so strange a question, that, if I offerd to answer it, he might truly say, I were out of mine. He said, if they had been so wise as they pretended to be, they wold never have offerd to give him a commission to be a Generall, who had never had a hier charge then that of a Ritmaster, and this he wold shortly declare to the King himselfe, as indeed he did. He gave me notwithstanding free quarters to these officers I had brought with me, and keepd them with him, and so dismissed me with much kindnes.

At my returne to Zeland, I met with Major Generall Montgomerie at Elsfennure, who had brought recommendatorie letters from our King, and the Queene of Bohemia, to the King of Denmark. He was graciously resservd, and the levieing a regiment of foot offerd to him; which he refusd, his desire being to command a regiment of horse. I tooke my leave of him there; he recommended to me two of his followers, both Montgomeries, whom I shortly after got accommoded in a troope; and so the Major Generall shipd for Holland, and I returnd to Copenhagen.

At my coming, the Secretarie of Estate told me, that he had learned from Lindanaw himselfe, how needles a journey I had made to Skonen; bot said withall, that the King intended to give me the levieing of a foot regiment, for the scene of affaires was altered in my absence. The Sueds had by storme made themselvs masters of Fredericks Ode, a strong place in Jutland, where they killd and tooke sixe thousand Danes, the reliques of the Holstein armie; and with them was taken the Fieldmarshall himselfe, very fore wounded, wherof he dyed a few days after; yet neither his wounds nor his death were able to wipe away the aspersiõ was cast on him of treason. In that toune, the Danes lost above a hundreth brasse canons, and a considerable magazine of amunition and victualls. This considerable losse, and the evill neighbourhood of so stirring aneemie, wakend the Danish King and his counsell out of their dreame. They finding they had bot litle reason to trust the natives, farre degenerated from the vigour and courage of the antient Danes, resolved to levie strangers. To that effect, fixe commissiõs were given out for levieing fixe foot regiments, each of a thousand men, wherof the King bestowd one upon me. I knew well enough how difficult a thing it was to leavie men at that time; bot perceiving I could not in reason looke for any other employment, I accepted the commissiõ. Bot intending to raise the halfe of my regiment in Dantzick, I wold only reslave the halfe of my levie moneys in Holland, then which I never committed ane act of hier follie. Thretteen dollars for each sojor were allowd us, for levie armes and transportation. His Majestie causd give me a hundreth and fifty duckats, to defray my charges the time of my attendance, not to be reckond in my levie money, which I was to reslave at Amsterdame. It did not



pay the halfe of my expence; yet it was a gratuitie to which he was not obliged, and therfor reſſavd by me with all thankfull acknowledgement. Haveing courted the Secretarie of Eſtate, as a man of his qualitie ſould be, I kiſſd the Kings hand, and tooke my leave of the Great Maſter and Treafurer, who were my noble friends; then I went to Ribelledo, the King of Spaines Embaſſador, and returned him my humble thanks for his civilities. I left him in a bad condition; for he was ſo plagud with ane univerſall gout, that, as he told me himſelfe, he could ſturre no member of his bodie bot tuo, that was his eye and his tongue. I tooke my leave of tuo Jefuits who attended him, who were my good friends, wittie men, and jollie companions. I embarkd at Ellennure in the midſt of December, in a veſſell bound for Harking in Freiland. A very cold paſſage I had, bot not very ſtormie; and in ten days time I landed at the Uly. From thence I had ſome difficultie, becauſe of the ice, to get up to Amſterdame.

Letters of recommendation were offered me from the King to the Daniſh Court, bot I reſuſd them, not out of vanitie, bot out of pure loyaltie; for I ſaw Sir Philip Medows, Cromwells pretended Embaſſador, reſſavd at Coppenhagen with ſo much ſtate and magnificence, (which ſhows that England muſt be courted, be maſter of it who will,) that I had juſt reaſon to feare his Majeſties letters ſould have beene bot litle regarded. From Amſterdam I went ſtraight to the Haag, where I ſhew my commiſſion, capitulation, and orders to Monſieur Roſemving, the Daniſh Embaſſador with the Generall Eſtates, and with ſome difficultie I procurd from him the halfe of my levie moneys. I capitulated with a Major and three Captaines, and gave them commiſſions; but I gave them onlie a third part of my levie money. Whill

all of us are busie setting forward the affaire wherwith we were intrusted, behold, the King of Sueden, in Februarie 1658, passeth his whole armie, horse and foot, over the Belt that separateth Funen from Jutland. The ice was so strong on the whole Baltick coast that winter, and continued so long, that on the 19th day of March thereafter, the same King of Sueden carried his whole armie and his great guns over the Sound, over against Malmey in to Skonen, on the ice. Being in Funen, he beats the Danish armie there, with very litle opposition. He pursues his victorie, passeth over the Ile of Langland, from thence to Laland, and at last to Zeland, the ice serving him for a bridge all the way. There did the English and Holland Embassadors meet him, who knowing their masters wold not willinglie see Charles Gustave master of the Sound, partlie by entreaties and remonstrances, partlie by threatnings, movd the victorious King to grant peace to the Dane; who bought it by a perpetuall resignation of the faire province of Skonen or Scandia, the Ile of Borholme, the strong castle of Bahouse, and some other places. Assuredlie the King of Sueden repented himselfe afterwards that he did not march straight to Coppenhagen, wherof at that time he could have made himselfe quicklie master; where he might, without stroake of sword, have got all the magazines of the kingdom, the whole fleet, which was frozen in, and the King with his Queene and whole familie, if they had not fled over the ice to Skonen, and so to Norway. Bot God had determind otherwise.

The Estates of the United Provinces were very angrie with the King of Denmark for makeing that peace, which pure necessitie had forced him to, without their consent, and therfor they discharge our leavies under paine of death, arrests our ships, sets our men ashore, and give-

ing each of them halfe a dollar, bad them goe where they pleased. Such a miserable end had that misfortunate leavie of ours ! Assuredlie in this the Estates did the Danish King a very shreud office ; for if they had suffered us to finish our leavie, we had carried over 6000 men to Denmark, which undoubtedlie had moved the Sued to quit his resolution of invadeing that kingdome, as nixt summer he did ; for this martiall King falls with a strong armie before Lambes in Zeland, and at one time beseegeth Elfennure and Coppenhagen. The first, after a stout resistance, he takes by accord ; from the other he is beaten with an exceeding great losse. The Hollanders then perceaves their error, and to make ane amends, they send a strong fleet with their Admirall Opdam, who fights thorough the Suedish navie in the Sound, and victuals Coppenhagen. Nixt yeare, they send ane other fleet with De Rutter, and 2000 foot fojors, under the command of Colonell Killigrew, who assisted the Danes pouverfullie to beate Prince Palatine Sultzbach and his Suedish armie at Neuburg in Funen. The King of Sueden did not long outlive this misfortune, and it is reported, that he was heard say frequentlie on his death bed, “ Funen, Funen, tu m’as tué ;” Funen, Funen, thou hast kild me ! So dyed Charles Gustave, who in the short time of his raigne had beene the Boutefew and Incendiarie of Christendome, haveing kindled the flame of warre in a great many parts of it.

Then it was that I found how foolish I had beene in takeing bot the halfe of my levie money ; for my comierads, the other Colonells, who had got all theirs, were never brought to any account at all. It is true, I demanded it from Rosenwing, and he refusing to pay it, I protested the Kings capitulation with me was broke and violated. We

were entering in a sute of law, bot comeing to tearmes of agreement, we gave it over ; and I requiring my passe from the King, tuo were sent me in haste, one in Danish, the other in Hie Dutch. In the beginning of the yeare 1658, I desired my wife once more to crosse the seas, and come out of Scotland to Holland ; which she readilie doeing, we met happilie, praise be to God for it, at Roterdame, and therafter livd tuo yeares together at the Haag with much content.

Generall Middletone stayd all that winter, after I left him, at Dantzick. Nixt spring as much money was sent him as the King could well spare, wherwith he payd some of his most preffing creditors (for all his debts he could not pay), and bought some horses, and accompanied with Major Murrey, brother to Pomais, and one servant, he travelld thorough severall places of Germanie, and visiting the tuo Electors of Brandenburg and Saxonie, at their oun Courts, he came to our master the King, at Bruxells, where he was gracieouslie received. He was pleased to write to me so soon as he came. In the harvest therafter he left the King, upon what occasion I know not, and went to Amsterdam ; there he stayd all the nixt winter. About that time, his Scottish regiment was given to the Vicount of Neuburgh, Don Juan haveing commanded, that none should have charge bot these who attended it. My companie in that regiment had beene given away, long before that, by the Duke of Yorke, without any injurie to me ; for I could not both attend a companie in Flanders, and a regiment in Denmark. In the summer following of the yeare 1659, Middletone is recalled to Court, many great riseings of the Royall partie in England haveing beene projected, with greate hopes of successe. Bot the time which God had appointed to finish soe great a worke not being comd,

they were all blasted ; and Sir George Booths partie, which was the most considerable, being beaten by Lambert, the King with a small traine went to Bayonne, to attend in person the issue of the greates treatie of peace betueene France and Spaine, which that yeare was concluded. The tuo great Ministers of State, Cardinall Mazarini and Lowis de Haro, meeting in the Ile of Phefants, to cast that great affaire in a right mould, and therafter at the statlie enterview of the tuo Potentates themselfs, a full conclusion was made, and the peace ratified, by the consummation of a marrieage betueene the King of France and the King of Spaines daughter. Bot observe, that what sould have cemented the agreement betueene these tuo crounes tuo yeares agoe, did dissolve it ; the French King, to vindicate the Queenes right, invadeing the Spanish Netherlands ; to so litle use servs humane prudence and policie, when a blessing from Heaven is denyd to it. Nothing was done for our King at that treatie ; which made him returne to Bruxells, where he found greater grounds of hopes from his own subjects, then he had reason to expect from strangers.

A kind of a warre haveing beene begunne betueene Monck and Lambert, the loyall Lords of Scotland desired Mr Bruce, now Earle of Kin-carden, to goe in their names to the King, (since he was to goe to his wife in Holland housoever), to represent to him their loyaltie, to desire his assistance of armes, bot above all, to intreate his Majestie to impart his royall commands to them, how they sould demeane themselfs in so great a concerne and exigent. And if they did not in plaine tearmes desire it, yet their expreffions seemd to import, that they wishd his Majestie wold be pleasd to name some other Generall for them then Middleton. Master Bruce told the Lords, he could not agent their

busienes openlie at Court, without running a vifible hazard to loofe his eftate in Scotland, which was confiderable ; bot with their permiffion wold imploy me, who he conceavd was faithfull, and had nothing to loofe at home. They were fatiffied with his choyce, and after he was comd to the Haag, he broke the matter to me, and found me readie enough to goe about the busienes, bot very fhie to propone any thing to Middletons prejudice. My wife fell ficke in the meane time ; bot being told by a doctor that there was no danger, (which yet did prove otherwife) I went to Bruxells and deliverd Mr Bruce his credentials to the King and Chanclor Hide, who was then Lord Chanclor of England. I found the King well enough fatiffied with all the defires of the Scottifh Lords, except that of a new Generall. He fpoke long to me on that fubject. I offerd in their name to affure his Majeftie, that fince he had a mind to continue him in his commiffion, none wold oppofe him. Meane while the King prepares privatlie for Breda, and commanded me to goe before him there, and attend him. There he came within three days after, and made wellcome by his fifter, the Princeffe Royall, and his nephew, the Prince of Orange. It was there where I fpoke at full length with my Lord Chanclor concerning Scottifh affaires ; who told me many ftories, and gave me full affureances of his affection to all Scotfmen, whatever had beene faid of him to the contrare, and of his particular kindnes to myfelfe ; bot withall complaind of the unfaithfullnes and falshood of fome of my countrey men, as I have touched before. I told his Lordfhip I wold not ftay a minute longer, unles I knew the King wold approve of my ftay at Court, in order to my inftructions. He faid, he was confident the King wold approve of my negotiation, and that his Majeftie had much truft for

me ; bot could not wonder enough, what prejudice the Scottish Lords had againſt Middleton. Nixt day the King calld me, and told me full as much as my Lord Chancellor had ſaid, and wrote much of it to the Earle of Glencairden in a letter, which he commanded him to communicate to the reſt of the loyall Lords.

Bot there was litle need of any agenting any thing at Court, or of a new Generall for the Scots, or yet of armes to be ſent to Scotland ; for the Kings reſtoration, and the means tending to it, were carried on in ſuch a way, and ſo faſt, as himſelfe could neither wiſh nor expect the buſienes to be done better. He is proclaimd in all his three kingdoms ; is complimented by the Embaſſadors of the United States at Breda ; invited to the Haag by the provinces of Holland ; is there royallie and magnificentlie wellcomd and entertaind ; is congratulated by the Embaſſadors of all the Princes of Chriſtendome who were at that Court ; his oune fleet is ſent to bring him home, with Commiſſioners from both Houſes of Parliament. He embarkes in it, and nixt day lands at Dover, and enters his capitall citie of London triumphantlie, on his birthday, where, at his Banquetting-houſe, both his Houſes made their humble Addreſſes to him. And all this was done in leſſe then two months time.

At my returne to the Haag, I found my wife bot weaklie recoverd of a heavie ſickenes ; and that obligd me to ſtay in Holland with her, till it pleaſd God ſhe was perfitlie well. Generall Middleton had once more fallen ſicke at Breda of a tertian, bot it was of no continuance, ſo that it hinderd him not to accept of the grace the King offerd, to take him along with him in his oune ſhip. If he did reſſent any thing was movd to the King, to put ane other in his roome, he did not well

to revenge himfelfe on me ; for not only my Lord Chanclor, bot the King himfelfe cleerd me of haveing any hand in it ; and if himfelfe harbourd any evill thoughts of me, he diffebled deeplie, for he profeld otherwife.

At my coming to London, I found his pouer greater, bot his kindnes leffe ; I fpeake this trulie, thogh I intend not to defcend to particulars. His Majeftie had defignd him to be Earle, his Hie Commiffioner at his enfueing Parliament of Scotland, Captaine Generall of his forces there, Captaine of his Caftle of Edinburgh, Extraordinaire Lord of the Seffion, and to have a troope of horfe for his guard. No act of grace or favour conferd on any Scot, but what paffd either thorough his hands, or the Earle of Lauderdaills ; and thogh formerlie thefe two had beene very intimate friends, yet then the feeds of jealousies betueene them were foune, which brought forth fruits therafter of implacable animofities. Ambition will have the uppermoft roome ; great Pompey will endure no equall, and greater Cæfar will acknowledge no fuperior.

I petitiond the King to remember my faithfull, thogh fmall fervices His Majeftie had me tell, to whom I defird he fould have referd the confideration of my bufienes. I namd the two Earles of Lauderdaill and Middleton. Lauderdaill promifd, whatever Middleton wold project for me in Scotland, he fould get it pafd by the King in England. It may be ; and I beleeeve it, he wold have beene as good as his word ; bot he was never put to it ; for, though, befides all other former fervices of my oune, my Lord Chanclor of England had, by a letter, very ferieoufflie recommended me to Earle Middleton, yet did he never doe, act or propone any thing for me. Two things I projected for



myfelfe, which fo foone as I told him of them, he obtaind a grant of them both to other tuo gentlemen. When I kist the Kings hand at my parting from Whitehall, in prefence of fome of the greateft men in England, (except thefe of the blood), his Majeftie exprefd himfelfe very gracieoufliie towards me, and told me, he had orderd his Commiffioner to provide for me. He conferrd Knighthood on me, ane honor trulie never either defervd or defird by me.

I ftayd in that condition till Auguft 1662, and then it was that my Lord Commiffioner, by his Majefties exprefse command, orderd Colonel Urrey and myfelfe, to raife each of us a companie of foot; the third the King had ordaind for my Lord Clermont, Middletons onlie fonne; bot his father takeing on him to be his tutor, gave the companie to Major Thomfone. Shortlie after, the Duke of Lennox raifd a companie for Dumbarton, and the Earle of Mar ane other for Stirline Caftles. All five marchd in September to Glasgou, where my Lord Commiffioner comeing in his progreffe to the weft, he appointed the Earle of Linlithgow to be Lieutenant Colonell of his Majefties guards of foot, and me to be Sergant Major. For what reafon this was done, will be to litle purpofe to tell. I had no commiffion till, a yeare and a halfe after, the King fent me one.

In the yeare 1663, his Majeftie being difpleafd with fome of E. Middletons doeings, appointed E. Rothes to fucceed him, and to be his Hie Commiffioner at the third Seffion of Parliament, at the clofe wherof, E. Middletons troop of horfe was cafheered. Towards the latter end of the yeare, the King tooke from him his commiffion of Captaine Generall, which he gave to none at this time; as alfo his commiffion of Captaine of Edinburgh Caftle; that, he conferrd on E. Lau-

derdaill ; and bestowd likewise his place of extraordinarie Lord of the Session on the Archbishop of Glasgow. And this may sufficientlie let us see the lubricitie of Court favours and preferments, the mutabilitie of all sublunar things, and the truth of that a noble French author writes, "*la montée aux prosperites, est de verre, la cime, tremblement, et la descente un precipice ;*" the ascent to prosperities, sayth he, is of glasse, the top wherof trembles, and the descent is a precipice. It verifieth also, what the Italian poet, Torquato Tasso, sayth,

*A glli voli troppo alti et repentini,*

*Soglino i precipitii esser vicini.*

Sudden and hie advancements, frequentlie

By precipiteous dounfalls followd be.

Yet the King professed still kindnes for him, which he hath witnessed was reall since, in makeing him Governour of Tanger, ane honorable command.

I stayd at Glasgow, quietlie attending my charge, till the yeare 1663; and from it I beginne the narration of what has since befallen me.

**MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;**

**PART THIRD,**

**CONTAINING A FULL NARRATION OF THE**

**INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND**

**TOWARDS THE LATTER END OF THE YEAR 1666,**

**AND OF HIS MISFORTUNES FOLLOWING THEREUPON,**

**TILL THE YEAR 1670.**



## SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

---

IN the beginning of the yeare 1663, ane unhappie quarrell arofe betueene the Minifter and fome of the people of Kirkcubright. It fignified bot litle; bot makeing a great noyse, the Privie Councell orderd fome Lords to goe thither, and fome forces with them, under the command of the Earle of Linlithgow, my Lieutenant Colonell, to examine the matter, and to imprifon fuch as they found guiltie of the tumult. Some women were carried to Edenburgh, and keepd fome time in the tollbooth; bot by the charitie and bountie of thefe who were of their perfuafion, returnd richer home than they came from it. One Ewart, who had beene Provost, was banifhd out of Scotland, not becaufe he had any acceffion to the commotion, bot becaufe he did not appeafe it. By the Kings clemencie, his Act of Banifhment was taken of. This inconfiderable and almoft ridiculous tumult, made a great noyse at Court, as if the whole Scots were readie to enter England, with a numerous armie, on the account of the Covenant; wherof fome great perfons thought to have made their feveral ufes.

In the latter end of September of that fame yeare, one Mr Alexander Robertfone, (who was afterward hangd for rebellion) ane expectant minifter, tooke on him to open the doores of the church of Anwith,

neere that same toun of Kirkcubright, and preach there to a very great auditorie. Bot thogh upon summons he appeared at Edenburgh, yet the Privie Councill, to prevent such illegall meetings, thought fit to send me to that steuartrie, with three-score men, to be added to the hundreth, whom my Lord Linlithgow had left there under the command of Captaine Ratray, at that time Lieutenant of my companie. Before I came, the Captaine had quarterd some sojors on the most obstinate opposers of the conforme ministers, in the parishes of Coriphairne and Balmacellellan; and at my comeing, upon bonds for future obedience, the sojors were a removeing. Neither was any fine exacted. If any cesse money was taken by the Captaine, or these he imployed, I know not, bot I am sure it was not complaind of. At the earnest sollicitation of the ministers of these tuo parishes, who were both of them exceeding weake brothers, I causd the bonds of their parishoners to be given to them, and they upon faire promises of the parties, very simplie redeliverd them; and this act of follie gave some ground for my returne to that unhappie countrey. At the desire of the Bishop of Galloway and his sinode, I sent three-score of my sojors with Ratray to Stranraer, commonlie calld the Chappell, being the people there were very disorderlie. After I had stayd till neere Candlemes of the yeare 1664, the ministers complaining no more, I left that countrey, as I thought, in a reasonable good way to conforme; and in Aprile nixt, the whole partie was commanded backe from Kirkcubright to Glasgou; ane act of the Privie Councill being made to give me thanks for the service I had done.

In the month of March 1665, I was the second time commanded to that steuartrie, with a partie consisting of one hundreth and tuentie

foot and threttie horſe, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution ; the people haveing beene extreamlie outragieous to their miniſters, and diſobedient to diſcipline. I ſtayd about tuo months in that countrey, and reducd it to ane indifferent good order, by ceſſing on ſome, and by both ceſſing and fineing others, and by faire meanes prevaileing with many ; ſo that moſt of the Miniſters thought, if I had beene permitted to have ſtayd longer, they might have had ſome comfort in their charges, by a tollerablie good compliance of their pariſhioners. Some money I exacted, ſparinglie, from thoſe of whoſe obedience I had hopes ; bot from ſuch as the miniſters and I judged obſtinate, I tooke ſome money, and bonds for all they were found to be dylie owing, as 20s. ſcots for everie Lords day they had abſented themſelves from their pariſh churches. The bonds were all in Maſter Keith his name, under cleark to the Privie Councell. I affurd the perſons who gave the bonds, that upon teſtificates from their ſeverall Miniſters, of their frequenting the church, and diſhaunting conventicles, it was probable their bonds wold be returnd to them for litle or no money at all ; and this I thought fit to ſhow them at parting. After tuo months ſtay there, I was orderd to returne to Glaſgow with both horſe and foot, to be employed thereafter for diſarming ſome people in the weſt ; it being my fate that nothing was intended to be done, that was diſpleaſing to that countrey, bot wherin I was made instrumentall. Immediatlie after I arrivd at Glaſgow, I am orderd with both horſe and foot to march to Aire, Irwine and Kilmarnock, to aſſiſt the Earle of Glencairden as Sheriffe of Aire, and the Earle of Eglinton as Bailiffe of Cuninghame, for diſarming all, except theſe who were entrusted with publike charges.

When this was done, I rode straight to Edinburgh, and gave the Earle of Rothes, then Lord Commiffioner, ane account of both my negociations. I gave my Lord a paper of what moneys I had reffaved; what I had disbursed, and what I had by me. He shew the paper to the tuo Lords Archbishops, and a litle after, all I had done was allowd and approvd as good service, and I commanded to deliver up the bonds to Master Keith; the superplus of the money wherof I had not disposed being allowd me, as I conceavd, for the charges mentioned in the paper, I had beene at, in three yeares before; as also for my expences in the steuartrie, in the yeares 1663 and 1665. The bonds I accordingly deliverd to Mr Keith, and tooke a note of ressit of them from him, signed with his hand, which yet I keepe by me. The money I retaind, which was one hundreth and fiftie pound sterline or therabout.

Bot the people of Galloways minds being whollie estranged from the present government of the Church, and haveing beene bot terrified to ane exterior obedience, and, by reason of my parties short stay, not at all settled, they soone furnishd their ministers with new occasions of complaints, which were so loud, that they were brought quicklie to the eares of the tuo Archbishops; and they presentlie acquainting my Lord Commiffioner with the great contempt of the laws, in order to Church Government in that countrey, so that a resolution was taken to send me the third time there, as also to Nithdaill, where the people were likewise become disorderlie. It was intended I should have gone in the beginning of Januare 1666, but some things occurr, to which my owne backwardnes to that journey contributed, for indeed my mind presagd me little good, which retarded my journey till the month



of March. I had againe a hundreth and tuentie foot allowed me, and threttie horſe were appointed to follow me, for bringing in the Parliaments fines, as they were called ; and indeed I very little meddled with theſe horſe, except that I quarterd ſome of them, on ſome deficiencies, in tuo or three pariſhes, in the months of September and October after, when I lay myſelfe at the toune of Drumfreis.

I was ſufficientlie impouerd, with orders and inſtructions from my Lord Commiſſioner, for ceſſing, quartering on and fineing perſons diſobedient to church ordinances ; neither had I at all any order to cite or proceſſe formallie the contemnners and diffrequenters of churches, and theſe who married and baptiſed with outed miniſters ; all which perſons could not be dilated to me by the conforme miniſters, for they knew leſſe than I, which of their pariſhoners frequented conventicles. They might indeed miſſe them out of their churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after ſuch, and to beſtow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive miniſters, (whom I had order to apprehend) and to find out ſuch who harbourd them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this meanes, I was more able to informe the Biſhop and Miniſters of theſe diſorderlie meetings, and who were at them, than they could informe me.

In May, if I remember right, a Sinod was kept at Kirkcubright ; where to eaſe the phanaticks for ſome time of ceſſing, at my very earneſt deſire, ane Act was paſd for a bond of future obedience, to be ſubſcryved by all who had payd no fine that yeare ; with promiſe that after ſigneing and obſerveing the bond, nothing ſould be demanded of them for bygone tranſgreſſions ; if not, they ſould be ceſd on, not for

refuseing to signe the bond, (for that was a wicked calummie) bot for the fines they owd for former delinquencies. Many subscribed the bond, and so payd no fine at all; many refused it, and so by my order were quarterd on for their bygone fines. A fortnights time was allowd them to advice, and in that time I went to Glasgou, from whence I had a call from my Lord Commiſſioner to come to Edenburgh, where I received new instructions. At my returne to Galloway, I ceased on such transgressors as had neither paid their fines, nor would signe the bond. Bot making haist to Niddaill, because of a letter from my Lord Commiſſioner, I exacted the fines of very few, bot caused them pay the cesse to the sojors, promiseing once more, if they would yet keepe the church, they should pay no fine at all; if not, though I was going from them, I would not faile to send horse to quarter on them.

In July, if I mistake not, I came to Drumfries, where I tooke the same course I had done in the stewartrie of Kirkcubright, and shire of Galloway. I dealt as favourable as I could with these who were averſe from Church government. And heere I shall take leave, once for all, to write ane undoubted truth, which is, that I was so farre from exceeding or transgressing my commission and instructions, that I never came the full length of them; sometimes not exceeding the fixth part of the fines, sometimes not the third, and seldome the halfe; and many fines I never exacted at all, still upon the parties promises of future compliance.

In all the places where I came, the number of the deficient, and the Ministers feares, that I should be calld backe before the busiſenes were done, was so great, that I was often necessitated to quarter my whole partie on delinquents, and scarce keepe any by me, except my owne

servants ; this may be cleare by this demonstration, that thogh I stayd in that countrey full eight months, yet when I was taken, I had the deficiencies of seven or eight parishes, whose names had beene given me long before, to quarter on. And this my order led me to doe, being appointed to cesse and quarter with my partie, and not to keepe any post, place or guarriſon ; for if it could have been expected that the people of that countrey wold have riſen againſt me, my partie when it was ſtrongeſt, wold have beene too weake to have enterd there ; and after I had enterd, it had beene madnes in me to have ceſſd or quarterd upon any delinquent ; for neceſſitie of ſelfe defence, wold have obliged me to have kept my whole partie conſtantlie together, yea, and to have fortified myſelfe againſt hoſtile attempts.

Three months before my takeing, the halfe of my foot were tane from me to goe to Leith, the warre being hote with Holland ; and in the latter end of October, my horſe were ſent for by their ſuperiors ; ſo that I had not in my partie full ſeventie men, and all theſe, except twelve or thretteen, quartered on deficiencies in the countrey. In this poſture were my affaires and myſelfe, when, upon the fifteenth day of November, a partie of phanatikes both horſe and foot, to the number of a hundreth and fiftie or therby, ſurrounded the houſe where I lodged, and made me priſoner. I was ſicke at that time, and had beene ſo for moſt part all that ſummer ; it being weell knowne that, betweene the firſt of March and November, I had let blood ſeven times. I can not bot regrate all my lifetime that miſfortune, which I could not prevent unles I could have forſeene it. Tounes, caſtles, citadells, ſtrong forts, well guarriſond, yea and ſome armies too, have beene ſurpriſed in our oune days ; and yet they had reaſon to expect the attempt of ane enemye.

and therfor were obliged to keepe good guards and watches ; wheras I had no reason to looke for any fuch thing, from a people profefling all kind of obedience to the King, and from thofe who had declar'd no warre or hoftilitie. And indeed none could fpeake more for me then his Majeftie, when he heard of it, expreffing himfelfe graciouſlie in theſe words. “ What hath befallen him, might have befallen the beſt man of the world.” What followed after my takeing, till the overthrow of theſe who tooke me, is fet doun at large in my Relation to the then Lord Commiſſioner, a true copie wherof follows.—

A RELATION of the late Rebels their motions from the time of their riſeing, till their overthrow, made to his Grace his Majeſties His Commiſſioner, by Sir James Turner, Anno 1666.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

If it were onlie theſe of the phanatick partie that blamd me for being acceſſorie to the late Rebellion; I ſould not be much troubled at it; bot it is no ſmall greife to me to heare, that ſome who profeſſe to be of ane other perſuaſion are apt to truſt theſe miſreports, without either heareing me, or examineing the truth, eſpeciallie at a time, when my imprifonment renderd me uncapable to anfuer for myſelfe.

I thinke I may ſafelie avouch it, that malice itſelfe could not have abuſed me, and that partie under my command, with more horride, unchriſtian and inhumane crimes, then a nameles libeller hath done, in ane infamous paper diſperſd againſt me. And ſince I have anfuerd it, and all its corollaries, grievances, aggravations and inſtances, I

ought in justice to expect that my answer be believed, till the libeller affix his name to his paper, and undertake to prove it.

I thinke I have just reason to desire all, of what persuasion soever they be, to believe that the Rebellion was a hatching, long ere I commanded these parties which the libeller mentions; and that none of my actions, which he calls oppressions, gave any rise to that insurrection. And if they will not believe me, they will, I hope, give trust to the worst of papers, I meane that infamous Declaration of the rebels themselves, wherein all may see that their taking armes, aimed at no lesse marke then the setting up of their dagon the Covenant, the restoration of their Remonstrance, and such a Presbyterian government reestablished as suted with the protesters braines, and the totall abolishing of the present ecclesiasticall, and consequentlie civill government.

My Lord, it will be impertinent for me to tell your Grace all the passages, dureing the time of my imprisonment, betueene the Rebels and me. Upon that subject, I shall be ready to doe it when you command me; onlie give me leave to say this much, that they confesd to me, that three or foure of their pretended grievances, wherof they said my oppression was one, did not at all give ground for their rising, bot onlie did accelerate it. Bot let it be so, that my oppression occasioned this insurrection, why did these of the shires of Aire and Clid-dail rise, on whom I never quarterd one soldier? sure these men can pretend no oppression of mine. If my oppression gave a rise to this Rebellion, why did Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Barckob, Maclellan of Balmagaghen, Mr Robinsone the minister, Gordon of Holme younger, all of them commanders in this insurrection, and all of them professing that I had done them severall favours; why did they, I

say, rise? Nay, why did Wallace, who at length commanded in chiefe, take armes, whom I had not seene in three and tuentie yeares before? Bot I shall say no more on this subject, bot hasten to give your Grace a relation, (so farre as I know), of what passed from the time the rebells enterd in armes; till they were routed.

About the 12th or 13th of November 1666, a gentleman of the stewartrie of Kirkcubright, sent one to acquaint me, that tuo men were comd from the north of Scotland, to sollicite severall persons, (who they conceavd, were either dissatisfied with the present government, or otherwise discontented,) to rise in armes, promifeing them great assistance from their countrey: As also, he informed me, there was a report, the phanatikes intended to seize on the Citadell of Aire, now called Montgomeries toune, and to repaire it. Bot because the gentleman could averre, neither the one nor the other to be a certaine truth, he desired me to suspend my beleefe, till he sent a neare friend of his owne to make a more particular inquirie of the whole matter, which I beleieve he did; bot I was made prisoner, before he could give me any further account.

On the 14th day of the same month, about fixe of the clocke at night, a corporall of mine, (who had beene quartered 18th miles from Drumfreis), was brought to me on horsebacke, shot in the bellie by Maclellan of Barskob, accompanied with 18th or 20th men in armes; and this was done, as the corporall affirmed to me, because he refused to signe the Covenant. This did so alarum me, that I resolvd, (thogh at that time I was right sicke,) to march directlie to the place where the ryot was committed, so soone as I could get any of my fojors together; for my instructions being, as your Grace knowes, to cesse fojors personallie

on these who refused to give obedience to church ordinances, it came often to passe that I had few or none with me, and at that time, I had not above thretteene with me in toun. This made me immediatlie write orders to most of these who were cessed in the countrey, with all diligence either to come to me, or meet me on the way. I wrote also to the Steuart Depute, and desired him to meet me at the parish of Dalry, where the formentiond corporall was wounded; so being resolved to march, with as many of my soldiers as could be brought together the next day, I ordered these few who were present, to come next morning at nine a clocke to my lodgings, and reffave powder, match and ball.

Next day, being the 15th of the month, I rose about fixe of the clocke, and when I was almost cloathd, I found mysele so indisposed that I was forced to goe to bed againe. Betueene eight and nine I arose once more, and haveing onlie my night goun upon me, the rebels entered the toun, and surrounded my lodgeing. I went to a window, from whence I calld to them, and inquired what they intended. Several of them, especiallie Neilson of Corsock, told me that, if I pleased, I should have faire quarter. My answer was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, being there was no warre declared. Bot I was answered, that prisoner I must be, or dy; and therfor they wished me quicklie to come doune staires, which I choosd rather to doe; (notwithstanding the opposition of my servants,) then be murderd in my chamber, for some of them had allreadie entered the house. I went to the streets in my goun, where many pistols and swords were presented to my head and breast, till Captaine Gray, (who commanded the whole partie,) made me get on horsebacke, and wold have carried me un-

cloathd out of toune, promifeing therafter to fend for my cloathes. Bot at length he was perfuaded to goe with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on thefe clothes I wore the day before. In the meane time, this Captaine feazd on a coffer of mine, where fome bags of money, fome linnens, and fome papers were. Bot his fojors got more, in ane other chamber, then he; neither could I make him or his officers fenfible of their oversight, in fuffering the rebells to cary away fo much money with them. Before I could get myfelfe in doublet, breeches and bootes, (and hafte enough I was commanded to make,) I could fee myfelfe robd of all the papers, moneys, armes, horfes, clothes, and linnens I had, thogh the Captaine often promisd, that not any thing belonged properlie to myfelfe, fould be imbecelled, and I as oft calld out to them to take all and onlie fave my papers; this was faithfullie promisd to me, bot faithleflie broken. Some few of my fojors were taken in their lodgeings, for nine a clocke, at which houre I appointed them to meet, was not yet comd. They lookd for Mafter Chalmers, the Perfon of Drumfreis, bot found him not, yet did they bring away his horfe; neither did I heare of any thing els they plunderd at that time. The Captaine mounted me on his ounge horfe, and there was good reafon for it, for he mounted himfelfe on a farre better one of mine, befides thefe he difpofed of to others. Some gentlemen, out of affection, followed me out of Drumfries; one wherof was rudlie commanded backe, and tuo others were carried eight miles further, allmoft as prifoners. Yet I had the opportunitie to tell one of them, that fo foone as he returned to the toune, he fould immediatlie poft away a fervant of mine, (whom he knew I trusted,) to my Lord Archbifhop of Glasgou, to acquaint him with all had paffed. It was a great addi-



tion to my griefe, to know that my Lord at that time, because of a feaver wherof he was not recoverd, might fall in a relapse, and so not onlie endanger his life, bot render him incapable to pay the King and the Church that service, which otherwise I knew he was both able and willing to doe ; yet I thought it more fitting he should have it from my servant, then from any other, who could not perhaps have given him so right and information.

That night I was lodged at the ministers house of Glencairne, but the rebels did not let me stay long there, being frighted from thence by a misintelligence they had, that the Earle of Anandail, and my Lord Drumlanrig, were following them with a strong partie of their friends and vassalls. I found it was in vaine for me, to offer to persuade the Captaine, that it was purlie impossible for these Lords, in so short a time, to get so many men together as could rencounter his partie, which consisted of above ninescore men, more then the halfe wherof consisted of horsemen, indifferently well mounted, with swords, pistols and carabines ; the rest were afoot, armed with muskets, pikes, swords, staves and forks. When they had carried me away from thence, they put a strong guard upon me, and with much difficultie I was permitted to speake to the Captaine, who a litle before had dismissed twentie of my sojors, whom he had taken in the countrey ; telling them, they should have no quarters heerafter, if they served the Prelats any more. They had kild one Hammilton, a sojourner of my owne companie, the night before, because he would neither take the Covenant, or cared for their quarter. I did pleade, I could be no prisoner of warre, and therfor desired I might be set at libertie, which was refused me with much scorn and contempt.

Then I desired he would leave me in some place, till I convalesced, which I hoped would be within a day or two; and then I would not fail to come to him upon my parole, which I promised not to break. But the wicked wretch told me, that he was so farre from believing my word, that he would not trust the King, my master, if he were there; and uttered such horrid speeches as are not fit for any loyal subject to rehearse. I then told him, he might now dispose of me as he pleased, for after these expressions of his, it did not become me to make any further applications to him. Most part of that night was spent in riding, in regard my indisposition constrained my guards to march but slowly. Once they took me in to refresh at a place called Castelfairne; the honest woman of the house was but shrewdly used, because by her pitiful looks she did show she had commiseration of my condition. There was one of my guards, called Canon of Barnshalloch, who entertained me the whole night, with discourses of death, by order, as I imagined, from the Captain. He told me, he believed it was concluded I should dy, and therefore wished me to prepare for it, and to repent of all my heinous sinnes, especially of that crying one, of my persecuting Gods people, who made conscience to keepe the Covenant, to which all my actions shew me to be a mortall enemy. It is needles to trouble your Grace with any more of his language, or my answers to him; let it be enough to say, that I endeavored to learne from him, whether my death was to be delayed till more of their forces were comd together; his answer was, it was probable it might be delayed.

On the sixteenth day of the month, we came to the old Clachan of Dalry, where their number increased to two hundred and fifty. Master Hugh Henderson, late minister of Drumfries, who lived neere that

house, obtained leave of Gray, that I might dine with him at his house. And though he and I be of different persuasions, yet I will say, that he entertained me with very real kindness, and desired the Captaine to set me at libertie; whose answer was, that he could not dispose of me, till he came to the shire of Aire, where he was to receive further orders from his superiors. At this place, Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a visite, and though he be a Presbiterian, yet in plaine enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves. It was reported to me, that Captaine Graye did heere offer to resigne his command to this Major Steuart, and that he absolutlie refused it. I had often enquired what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command these gentlemen he had never seene before; but I was answered by them all, that they knew no more of him, but that he called himselfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought an order with him, to them all to obey him. I tooke much pains to learne from whom that order came, whether from one man, as a Generall, or from more men, as a councill, a committee, or junto; but could never yet, by any means I could use, come to the knowledge of it.

At night, the Captaine lodged me with himselfe, at one Mr Chalmers of Waterside his house, who entertained me with much curtesie and civilitie. But so did not my Captaine; for he being againe alarmed with a report, that Anandaill and Drumlanrig were seene with a bodie of horse neere a foord of the water of Ken, he got himselfe on horsebacke, and called incessantlie to mount the prisoner, for now I had lost my owne name, and past under that of the prisoner. And because I was not so soone mounted as he would have had me, he entertained me with very rude language, and threatned me with death. This alarm

provd false, thogh it was most true that these Lords were very buſie raising men, to pursue the rebels. I was permitted to goe into the house againe, bot not permitted to stay long in it, for about eleven or twelve of the clocke at night, I was againe set on horsebacke. Very dark it was, it rained pitifullie, the wind was loud, and the way exceeding bad; yet sicke as I was, I was forced to ride eight miles to Corfphairne, where the Captaine lodgd me in a countrey house, with fixteene horsemen to guard me. I spent the rest of the night till day, in that poore house, as well as I could. Bot my Captaine rested bot little, for the day before he had sent away the money, and other baggage, which he had got from me, and thinking he had sped well enough, resolvd to retire himselfe, before the fire grew hotter; and accordinglie did beginne his retreat that very night, which he managd so discretlie, that he was never seene since by either me, or any of his owne partie.

I have often thought since of the follie of this poore fellow, who since he was not so absolutlie wicked as to take my life, and that it was money he was looking after, why he could not be so absolutlie good to himselfe as to take me with him, who, no question, wold have bought my libertie from him with all the moneys I could be master of.

The seventeenth day of the month was spent in their quarters, under the command of Barskob, Corsock and Robinsone the minister, who past then under the name of Captaine Robinsone. At night they enlarged their quarters, in that same parish of Corfphairne; and I was sent to the house of one Gordon of Knockgray, who was himselfe in prison at Kirkcubright, bot his sonne did entertaine me very kindlie, for some favours I had done to his father, bot he was forced likewise to entertain threttie horse, who were sent to attend me.

The eighteenth day of the month, being the Lords day, we marchd to Damellintoun, to which place Mr John Welch was comd from Edinburgh, with Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Balmagachen, and three or foure gentlemen more, who all of them became officers immediatlie. The first halfe of that way, I was guarded by civill enough men; bot haveing spent one houre at a pitiefull alehouse, I was deliverd to another guard, the commander wherof did entertaine me the length of foure miles, with all the insolent and outrageous words that he could invent, and affurd me, that dy I must, and dy I should. My anfuere was, that my life was not so deare to me, as that I wold seeke it from him. When we were comd to their body, I perceavd the commander, whom I knew not. Somthing pussed with marshalling his disorderlie rable, he presentlie commanded tuo of the wickedest of his guards to cary me forward to the other side of a litle hill; and spoke some thing els privatlie to them, which I did interprete to be a command to dispatch me; which conceit of mine was corroborated by the inhumane language of these tuo who conducted me, who told me, it was just both with God and man, to put me to death on a Sabbath day; in regard, said they, I had forced many pretieous Christians to transgresse the Sabbath, by hindering them to heare their lawfull pastors in hills and woods, and forced them to goe to church, to heare dumbe dogs, for so they qualified conforme ministers. I desired them to doe with me what was commanded them, and not to stirre up my passion, which might choak these better thoughts and meditations that were fit for me to entertaine at that time. Bot I found thereafter, that their wickednes proceeded meerlie from themselves, for I was sent to that place, onlie that I shoud not see the disorders of their new troops.

At Damellinton I was quarterd at the principall inne, where I had often lodged before ; my hofte and hofteffe made me very wellcome ; and though both of them wer Prefbiterians, yet did they professe their diflike of the infurrection, and my imprifonment. Sufficientlie well guarded I was, for three, (whom they calld gentlemen,) ftayd in the chamber with me, three others at the chamber door, and the reft below ftaires. After my guards had fupped, at my charges, Mr Welch fent one to enquire of me, if I wold reffave a vifite from him ; my anfuere was, he was a perfon I was lookeing for thefe tuo yeares bygone, bot I had found him now in a wrong time ; however, he might come when he pleafd. When he came, he enterd in a tedious difcourfe of the Covenant, which, as he faid, had made Scotland glorieous in the eyes of the nations. He held out to me, how great ane enimie I had beene to that Covenant, and how much I had endeavord to fupport Prelacie, by fuppreffing and oppreffing the people of God, who loved not that government. He wifhd me to meditate much on death, which, as he faid, I knew not how foone might overtake me. That, though perhaps I might anfuere before men for all I had done, yet it wold be hard for me to anfuere all before the tribunall of Jefus Chrift, where it was like I might fhortlie compeare. He confidentlie offerd to affure me, that the Lord had revald it unto them, that this was the time appointed by God, for the deliverance of his fainets and people, from the perfecutions and tirannies of thefe who had vilipended and contemned the Covenant. And then he told me, that though a ftrict guard was ftill to be keepd over me, yet it was the falvation of my foule that they fought, and that they refolvd to endeavor to gain me, and that I needed not to apprehend death ; bot added thefe words, “ I meane,” faid he, “ not fo foone.” I

anfuerd particularlie to everie part of this long discourfe. Among other things, I told him, that revelations and miracles were ceafd; that it was not probable that he or his partie could fet up their Covenant, with fuch inconfiderable numbers as either they yet had, or were like to get, againft the Kings ftanding forces; the which, in all probabilitie, were on their march againft them. I wifhd they wold more maturlie confider what they were doeing, and give over in time, goe home to their houfes, and fubmit to the Kings clemencie; whose former acts of grace might give them confidence to beleeeve, that they had to doe with a mercifull prince, who would pardon their errors, and take their grievances to his royall confideration. Bot by thefe discourfes I prevaild as much with him, as he did with me by his. I calld for a cup of ale, purpoffie that I might heare him fay grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the reftoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of Gods fervant, who was then in bonds. He prayd for my converfion, and that repentance and remiffion of finnes might be granted to me. After this, the conference broke up, at which were prefent as many as the roomē could well hold.

On the nineteenth day of the month, about foure of the clocke in the morning, when I was makeing readie, eight or nine of the rebells horfmen, commanded by Mr Robinfone the minifter, rod thorough the village twice or thrice, ey crying aloud, “ Rander your prifoner, rebells, rander your prifoner, or you fhall all dy.” I instantly conjecturd, that this was done on purpofe to try what countenance I wold fhew, and therefore I affurd my guards, (who were indeed ignorant of the defign,) that it was their own people, for it was impoffible for any of the Kings

forces to be so neere. One of them went doune stairs, and at his return told me, I had conjecturd right ; bot, said he, when first I heard the cry, I doubted whether to kill you, or goe doune staires first. I askd him, if he had any such order, to which he and his comerads answered with silence. It was then that one of my intelligencers (for tuo I had gaind among them,) told me, they were resolvd to dispatch me, so soone as they met with any opposition ; bot this resolution was afterwards alterd. My guards were changd that morning, and after all the new officers had given me a civile visite, we marchd, and about tuo of the clocke in the afternoone, I was quarterd beside the church of Torbolton, and their horse in the parish ; the foot lodging in the church and church-yard. That afternoone many joynd with them, both from the shire of Aire and Cliddfdaill, infomuch as they spoke of nothing bot marching to Glasgou the next day. Bot being informed that night, that My Lord Duke of Hamilton and Generall Dallyell were both comd to that toune, and that next day the whole forces wold be there, they betooke themselves to their second thoughts. Towards the evening, Mr Robinfone and Mr Cruksbank gave me a visite ; I calld for some ale, purposlie to heare one of them blesse it. It fell Mr Robbifone to seeke the blessing, who said one of the most bombastick graces that ever I heard in my life. He summond God Allmightie very imperiouflic to be their secundarie, (for that was his language ; ) “ and if,” said he, “ thou wilt not be our secundarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause, bot thy cause ; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy oune cause, we are not obliged to fight for it. They say,” said he, “ that Dukes, Earls, and Lords are comeing with the Kings Generall against us, bot they shall be nothing bot a threshing to us.” This



grace did more fullie satisfie me of the follie and injustice of their cause; then the ale did quench my thirst. That night, they sent severall parties abroad, who brought many horses to them. One partie they sent to the toune of Aire, which brought out of the tolbooth all these armes, which E. Glencairne and I had taken from the countrey people the yeare before.

The next day, being the twentieth of the month, about eleven or twelve of the clocke, the rebells marchd straight to Aire, and so farre as I could well perceave, their numbers were encreased to above seven hundreth; bot they gave it out, that there were five hundreth for them, at such a place; and fixe hundreth at ane other place, and that their brethren of the north had crofd Forth at the heads. This they told, with many more lyes; for to speake untruths was a veniall sinne with these persons. While we were on our way, one Major Lermond accosted me, and usd me with many insolencies, telling me, he had knowne me before; "and at that time," said he, "you were a gentleman, bot now you are not; for you are a persecutor of Gods saints, and hath made yourselfe a slave to Prelacie, and the instrument of their tirannie." I told him, thogh all his language were true, yet he had timd it very ill. Master Gabriell Semple tooke him away from me, and did himselfe enter in a discourse with me, of Episcopacie, Presbiterie and the Covenant. I was very free with him, in declareing my mind concerning all the three. Then he enquired of me, whether I thought vice and sinne were not more punished in the time of Presbiterie, then it was now in the time of Episcopacie. I answered, that thogh I could grant that to be true, yet wold it militate onlie against the Bishops persons, and not at all against their functions. Bot that he

might see that I would not grant him that either, I told him, I never saw either publique or private sinne more abound then in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemne League and Covenant was subscribed by many. He pursued that discourse no further, but told me, I was in disgrace with the King, deserted by the Bishops, and threatened with death by the Generall; and that I might easilie rid myselfe of all these difficulties, by signing the Covenant. But when he saw that did not prevaile, he had a large discourse of death, on which he desired me to meditate, and so parted civillie with me. That night I was lodged at Aire in ane inne, three of their gentlemen in the chamber with me, and a guard of horse and foot below staires. Severall of my acquaintances were permitted to see me, but not to discourse in private with me. Yet Colonell Robsone, ane English gentleman, who lives at Montgomeries towne, found meanes to tell me quietlie, that my death was resolv'd on, so soone as the rebels did once see the Kings forces. At this place I borrowed a little money from a friend of mine, for I had beene master of none since I was made prisoner. I cannot omit to tell, that on our march to Aire, Major Mackulloch, who was since executed at Edenburgh, in my hearing, praised God for that happie day he had now seene; and, said he, "Magnified be thou, Lord, for thou hast done thy owne worke thyselfe." One of his partie, and my guards, rejoyned in this language; "Bide you yet, sir, the worke is not halfe done, the play is bot beginning." I look'd immediatlie to him, and smild on him, and so did he upon me. Then I resolv'd, if possible, to make a strict acquaintance with him, and to that purpose entered in a discourse with him; but by it, I found he was a person not fit to be entrusted with secrets, and therfor tooke no more notice of him.

On the twentieth and one day of the month, my guards were changed; halfe a dozen wherof came to the roome where I was, and pulld me out of it with much rudenes and insolence; neither wold they give me time to subscribe a note for some moneys I owed to my landlord for my supper, a hat, and some linnens, his wife had prepared for me. And when they had brought me doune staires, and found no horse readie for me, they made me walke afoot allmost out of toune, till the gentleman who commanded my guards the day before, came and carried me backe to the inne, where I had time to satisfie my host, and take my morning draught. And then the same gentleman saw me mounted on such a horse as they had allowed me. Heere a spurre, which they had permitted me to weare before, was taken from me; and then I was carried out of toune, where they were drauing up their companies. He who commanded my guards, did most insolentlie revile me; he told me, I was a greater persecuter of Christians, then any who was ever mentiond in historie. He said, I was the author of all the mischiefes that had befallen either the Covenanters, or the Covenant itselfe. Nay, the foole averd, that I was the man that had both presented and admitted the ministers in severall parishes, insufficient fellows, that came in by my meanes, without the peoples consent, with much more stuffe to this purpose. He was so extravagant, that I entered in some passion with him, which made me tell him, it was below me to answer his insolent follies, and that he might say what he pleased, for I wold take no more notice of his language then of the barking of a dog; at which the ridiculous fellow requird the rest of the guard to be his witnesses, that thogh there was a great alteration in my condition, yet my heart was not at all changed, bot hardend in wickednes,

in ſo farre, that I had compared him, who was a good Chriſtian, to a dog. Bot Maſter Cruikſchanck the miniſter, haveing heard of this dialogue, came and gave him a very ſevere reproofe, and told him, thogh ane idolatrous king had ſaid it, yet it was truth, that he who puts on his harnefſe, ſould not boaſt, as he who puts it of. Neither, ſaid he, does any of us know, bot that before night, we may be in the ſame condition that this gentleman is, or a worſe. From Aire, the rebels marched tuo miles, and paſſed the water at Aſton Bridge, and then drew up in a field. My ignorant guard carried me up to their van, where I preſentlie began to number them, bot was ſoone interrupted by ſome of their officers, who under a ſhow of civilitie, deſired me and my guards to goe to the nixt alehouſe and reſreſh a litle.

Heere they ſtayd about tuo houres and a halfe, and as I was told, placd ſome officers both of horſe and foot. Immediatlie after, they re-paſſed the ſame bridge, and marchd in to the pariſh of Colton. Bot by the way, I was commanded to alight from the horſe I did ride on, becauſe they alleadged he was too ſuiſt, and mounted I was on ane other, who wold not goe without ſtroakes. And to make ſure worke with me, they tooke away a ſpurre from me, which that ſame wicked fellow, who had abuſd me ſo much that morning, (to make ſome amends for his uncivilitie,) had lent me. I was very deſireous to have keepd the ſpurre, bot Major Lermond told me, that the committee had orderd it otherwiſe. "What," ſaid I, "have they brought the buſienes that length, as to a committee? perhaps the firſt act of it hath unſpurd me." They likewiſe appointed one Callhoone, a bankrupt merchant of Glaſgow, in whom they much truſted, to command my guards; which he did tuo days together very ſtrictlie, yet with very much reſpect and civilitie.

Heere Lieutenant Colonell Wallace came to me, in a long cloake, his muntero draune over his face, and his beard very rough. His deportment was civill; he askd me, how I had my health, and if I knew him. I told him, I knew his face, but could not so soone remember his name. He immediatlie told me who he was, and profesd to be sorry to see me in that condition; and after that, I had constantlie exterior civilities from him. We lodgd that night disperfdlie in that parish of Coltoun, where we had some alarums. And after the word "horfe, horfe," was given, (for that was all their trumpet;) the nixt word was constantlie, "mount the prisoner," which many times was given in such haste, that I had litle time alloud me to pull on my bootes; which made me resolve in time coming not to pull them of at all, thogh it provd exceeding troublesome to ride, walke, sit and ly constantlie in them.

On the tuo and twentieth day of the month, we marchd to Ochill-tree, where Master Johne Welch, (who went from Damellintoune to Galloway to fetch fresh forces,) met us with his armie, (for so some of the rebells wold needs have it called). I saw them afarre of, and reckond them to be neere one hundreth ill armed foot, and some fifteene or sixteene horfe. I was lodged that night at the principall alehouse of the toune, where I was indifferentlie well used, and visited by some of their officers and ministers. Most of their foot were lodged about the church and churchyard, and order given, to ring bells next morning, for a sermon to be preachd by Mr Welch. Maxwell of Morith and Major Mackulloch, invited me to heare that phanatick sermon, (for soe they merrilie calld it). They said, that preaching might prove an effectuall meane to turne me, which they heartelie wishd. I answered them, that I was under guards, and that, if they intended to

heare that fermon, it was probable I might heare it likewise, for it was not like my guards wold goe to church, and leave me alone at my lodgeings. Bot to what they spoke of my conversion, I said, it wold be hard to turne a Turner. Bot because I found them in a merry humour, I said, if I did not come to heare Mr Welch preach, then they might fine me in fortie shillings Scots, which was duoble the sounge of what I had exacted from the phanatikes. Bot there was no fermon, which undoubtedlie I would have heard, if there had beene any. It was told me, that Mr Welch had a short speech to their officers, at Sir Johne Cochrans house, where most of them, and their ministers were quarterd; bot his lady was so farre from makeing them wellcome, (Sir Johne himselfe being then with the Generall), that she would not be seene by any of them. And I suppose, we were all of us deare enough guests to Sir Johne, for I am confident, his servants were forced to entertaine neere a hundreth of their horses, among whom were fixtene of my guardes, if not more.

On the tuentie third day of the month they broke up from Ochilltrie, about eleven of the clocke in the morning, and marchd to Cumlock. Once I thought the rebells intended for Sanquor, to pay there some of their religious vowes; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs castles and lands, because he was active against them, and, as they were informed, had hangd tuo of his vassals or tennents, because they had faild to be at a rendes-vous which he had appointed. Bot the saints were wise in their anger, and delayd their revenge till a more fit oportunitie. Upon their march to Murekirke, they had intelligence that the Kings forces were marchd the day before from Glasgow to Killmarnock, which provd to be true. The way to that church was

exceeding bad, a very hie wind, with a grievous raine in our faces. The night fell darke before we could reach the place where the foot were quartered, with no meate or drinke, and with very litle fire. I doe confesse, I never saw luftier fellows, then these foot were, or better marchers; for thogh I was appointed to stay in the reare, and notwithstanding these inconveniences, yet I saw few or none of them straggle. Major Lermond, (who endevord to make some amends for his former incivilities), gave order to quarter me in the best alehouse neere the church. Bot threttie of their foot came likewise, and quarterd themselves with me, in spite of my horse guards.

On the twentieth and fourth day of the month, about nine of the clocke of the morning, they rendezvoufd at Murekirke; where I was permitted to buy tuo litle nags, ane for myselfe, and ane other for a drummer of mine, who had stayd constantlie with me, and for both I payd no more bot twelve dollars; it will be easilie granted I could doe no great feates on horses of that price. It was from this place, or from Douglas, that they sufferd Mr Welch his servant to carry ane open letter of mine to my wife at Glasgou, for they wold not permit me to write to . . . . . (who, they said, was at London), or to my Colonnell the Earle of Linlithgow, or to Generall Dallyell. We began our march about ten a clocke, and spent most of the day ere we could get to Douglas, the way being rough and mountanous, and the weather rainie and boisterous. Here it was told me, by one of my intelligencers, that they intended to march to Hammilton, and from thence, (if they could give the Generall the goeby,) to Glasgou. We made a stand at Douglas till quarters were made, and in that interim, I was accosted by one Mitchell, whom I had never seene before, a preacher, bot no

actuall minifter, who fpared not to raile fufficientlie againft all authoritie both fupreame and fubalterne. He feemd to be moft offended with the gentlemen of the long robe, who, as he conceavd, had beene the contrivers and penners of thefe laws, either in Parliament or Councell, which did uphold the prelaticall government. Nixt to them he furieouflic bland me, for oppreffing men in their confciences and eftates, by putting thefe unjuft laws in execution. He faid, I had oppreffd men who had fhowne more loyaltie to the King, in the time of ufurpation, then any of thefe who had pend thofe laws. I told him, fharplic enough, if both my confcience and judgment had not gone along with the juftice and equitie of thefe laws, no worldlie advantages fould ever have made me undertake the execution of them. He feemd to commend my ingenuitie, bot enterd on ane other difcourfe, which paffd all prefcriptions of modeftie. That night, Wallace beganne to command their forces, which power, with the title of colonell, as I was told, was given him by their committee ; in which alfo it was debated, what fould be done with me, bot nothing concluded on the matter.

On the tuentie and fifth day of the month, being the Lords day, they broke up from Douglas, and marched neere Lefmahego ; haveing beene informed, bot not trulie, that my Lord Duke of Hammilton, onlie with his oun troope, and fome of the countrey gentlemen, . . . . . which made them fpeake of beateing up his quarters ; which gladlie they wold have done, being much incensd againft my Lord, becaufe he had forced, under all hieft paines, the gentrie and communalitie to goe with the Generall, againft both their confciences and judgments, as they pretended. At this placetheyftayd about tuo houres, haveing fent a partie of horfe to Lanrick to make quarters. I was taken into a contrey houfe, under



pretence to refresh, bot it was, that I could not looke upon their armie, (for so they were pleasd to call it,) till they had marshalld it rightlie. At length I was mounted, and led along the reare of both horse and foot, and thereafter I was brought to the front of the battell, where I did not let the opportunitie slip to reckon them. I found their horse did consist of foure hundreth and fortie, and the foot of five hundreth and upwards, besides the partie of horse which was at Lainrick, and some other small parties which they had sent abroad to plunder horses; a Sundayes exercise proper onlie for phanaticks. The horse men were armed for most part with sword and pistoll, some onlie with swords. The foot, with musket, pike, fith, forke and sword; and some with staves, great and long. There I saw two of their troopes skirmish against other two, (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided,) which I confesse they did handsomlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilitie of both horse and rider, and to see them keepe troope so well, and how they had comd to that perfection in so short a time. The foot were not exercised at this time. At length they marched to Lainrick, the horse crossing the river of Clide by the foord, and the foot by the boate, for there was bot one.

The principall Bayliffe of the toune was willing to have lodged me at his oune house, bot he was onlie permitted to shew his kindnes to me, by presenting me with a cup of ale in his oune chamber, (all the rest being taken up for their officers), and by giveing me a visite at ane other lodging prepard for me. Heere Commissarie Lockheart came also and saw me, and profferd very kindlie to lend me any gold or silver I stood in need of, wherof I did not accept, yet I borrowed a change of linnens from him. The toune was searchd for armes and

amunition, and onlie fourteene partifanes, and three or foure pound of poulder were found, and taken out of the tollbooth. That night a councell or committee was keepd, where it was concluded, that nixt morning the Covenant fould be renewd, and fuorne. And the queftion was, whether immediatlie after, they fould put me to death ; they who were for it, pretended ane article of the Covenant obliged them to bring all malignants to condigne punifhment. Bot it was refolvd, that I fould not dy fo foone, bot endeavors fould be ufed to gaine me. All this was told me by one of my intelligencers, before tuo of the clocke nixt morning. Yet I have heard fince, that it was formallie put to the vote, whether I fould dy prefentlie, or be delayed, and that delay was carried in the councell, by one vote onlie.

Let now all people of impartiall judgments determine, whether this armie of pretended faints fpent this Lords day, as Chriftians ought to doe ; and thefe who make Sabbath breakeing a crying finne, how will they excufe this crue of rebellious hipocrites, who began that dayes worke in the morning with ftealeing a filver fpoone and a night gounne at Douglas, and fpent the reft of the day, moft of them in exercifeing, in a militarie way, and the reft in plundring houfes and horfes, and did not beftow one houre or minute of it, in the Lords fervice, either in prayers, praifes or preaching ? Bot they made a good amends at night ; for omitting the dueties of the day, by paffing one act for renewing the Covenant, and ane other for murthering me whenever they fould thinke it fitting. This I fhall fay, they were not to learne to plunder, and that I have not feene leffe of divine worfhip any where, then I faw in that armie of theirs ; for thogh at their rendezvouses and halts they had opportunitie enough everie day for it, yet did I never heare any

of their minifters, (and as themfelves told me, there was not fo few as tuo and threttie of them, wherof onlie five or fixe converfd with me,) either pray, preach, or fing pfalmes ; neither could I learne that it was ever practifd publiklie, except once by Mr Robbifone at Corffairne, ane other time by Mr Welch at Damellinton, and now the third time by Mr Semple at Lanrick, where the laufull paftor was forced to refigne his pulpit to him. What they did in feverall quarters, I know not; perhaps they had fome familie exercife there. I am fure in my quarters, my guards neither prayd nor praifd, for any thing I ever heard; and being for moft part in one room together, it is to be fuppofed I muft have beene a witnes to their devotions. Bot I confeffe I was more overwearied with the tedioufnes and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the fcarfnes or badnes of my meate and drinke.

It was now Monday morning, the tuentie fixth of the month, when one of their minifters did reade the Covenant on the top of the ftaires of the tollbooth, which was fuorne by all the affiftants. Bot neither I nor any of my guards were invited to that morning exercife. When moft of them were marchd out of toune, I was calld out of my lodging, and Major Lermond wold needs convoy me himfelfe, for feare, forfooth, that the toune people fould ftone me. Bot I am fure none of them offered fo much as one injurious word to me; yet I heard many poore people curfe them for takeing free quarter, (I haveing paid my hofte for all my guards and I dranke; for meate he wold take nothing, for which he witneffed his thankfullnes in holding my ftirrop, when I got on horfebacke.) It was ane ordinare thing for any of them all, to call for any thing was neceffare for either horfe or man, and fay

they would pay it when they came backe. This was bot a peccadillo in both officers and sojors, for a great sinne it could not be in such faints, who, say they, have the onlie true right to the creature. Bot one houre was not past, when I could tell Major Lermond what made him so officious as to convoy me that morning. There was a certaine persone, who shall be nameles, who desired to see me led as a prisoner, enviroind with a number of draune fuords, to satisfie whom, the Major led me out of the way round about the tollbooth, before a hie window where that persone stood. There were many signes of joy, and much laughter passed betuixt him and the Major, yet he endeavored to keepe himselfe so within the window that I could not see him, bot in vaine, for I saw him well enough. It was a ridiculous action of that foolish Major, to satisfie any mans curiositie, by abusing himselfe, and the charge he then exercised. And to the other, I shall say, it was below a gentleman, and unbeseeming a good subject, to desire to glut his eyes with the sight of the low condition and captivitie of one who professed loyalty to the King. Heere at Lanrick severall fellows joyned with the rebels, to the number, as I thinke, of fortie or fiftie; bot they were not able to arme the halfe of them. And now the rebels were in their greatest strength, which I avow never to have exceeded eleven hundredth horse and foot, (if ever they were so many,) for though in every place some came to them, yet some likewise deserted them, among whom were some of their ministers, particularlie Mr Alexander Pedden. Without the towne, in sight of their armie, for so they would have it called, Major Lermond, Mr Robbinson, and another minister whom I knew not, with two or three officers more, came to me; and the Major embracing me, said, that I was in greater safetie with them then I

could be with the Kings forces, in regard the Generall intended to put me to death ; and that some great person had, and wold stop all ways for me to enter in the Kings favour ; that I had best consider my oune condition, that my persecuteing the Covenant was the ground of the controversie betueene God and me ; and if I wold take the Covenant, as they had done that morning, besides the good I fould doe to my oune soule, I fould be eminent enough in the eyes of the world. Much to this purpose did he and the rest of them harangue to me. My anfuere was premeditated, and such as proceeded from one resolvd to dy. First, I wisht that Mr Semple had beene there, to whom I had at large related, on what grounds I had taken that Covenant three and tuentie yeares agoe ; as also how I had repented for doing it ; what were the grounds that movd me to that repentance, with a resolution never to enter into it againe. I told them, I lookd upon the present condition of affaires with a sorrowfull heart, and that I forsaw, that he, whom they calld their enemy, (meaning the Generall,) would engadge them within eight and fortie houres, which I wisht I might prevent with the losse of my life ; which I was heartilie willing to sacrifice, if therby I might expiate these offences, wherwith I was unjustlie charged, conditionallie no more blood might be shed, and that they wold goe home to their houses and implore his Majesties pardon, who is both readie to forgive for time bygone, and readie to heare their grievances in time to come. “ And now,” said I, “ gentlemen, you may perceave, by what I have said, how little the terrors of death are like to prevaile with me ;” and to what I have said, I tooke God to be my witnes, who, said I, in all probabilitie will shortly be my judge. And to Master Robbinsons (who spoke something to me of death,) I said thus ; “ Mr

Robbinfone, I know you, and to you now I speake. The house of death hath many doores, and thorough one or ane other of them we must all enter ; for me, I resolve to endure the most severe stroake of the Kings justice, rather than cary a fuord against him or his authoritie. If," said I, " a man enjoy the inward peace of his mind, it is no matter whether a feaver, a pistoll, a fuord, a dagger, a hatchet, or a halter, usher him to his grave." They were pleas'd to say that I had spoken generousslie, bot averd that all of them were as much for his Majesties person and authoritie as I was, or any other that carried his commission ; and added, they wold give me time to consult with God and my conscience, which I accepted, and so we parted.

They had marchd now about a mile and a halfe, and enterd in a moras, when one came and told them that the enemies forepartie was seene on the other side of the river ; and that Mondrogat, who commanded a partie of theirs at the foord, had either dround or broken the boate. Lermond was sent thither, to see in what condition their affaires stood, their body marching on. Bot within one houre, or therby, the Generall had passd the river with both his horse and foot ; the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie shewing their foot companies good example by wadeing the river first themselves. Upon this intelligence the rebels facd about, and drew up as formallie as the ground could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable seene disadvantage, the moras being so deepe, and the way so narrow, that hardlie the foot, much lesse the horse, could do any great service. When they heard the Generall had made his quarters at Lanrick, they marchd on. A little before this, Mr Laurie of Blackwood was brought to them ; what his errand was

I know not, bot if it was to intimate the proclamation and act of grace, he did it with so little noyse, and to so few, that not all their officers, much lesse their foldiers, knew any thing of it ; neither did he so much as give me any hint of it, thogh he and I rode a full houre together.

In this march, Wallace had severall discourfes with me, particularlie of the strength of the Kings forces. I told him, I conceavd the troopes of horfe to consist of fixe hundreth, and the tuo regiments of foot neere tuo thousand. Bot he replyd, that he had latelie beene in Edenburgh, and had privatlie seene all the foot companies, when they went out to exercife, and that he conceavd them to be below that number I spoke of. He said, he was informed that the Generall had left tuo troopes of horfe, and fixe companies of foot behind him, bot where, or for what reason, he had not yet learned. He said likewise, that the speedines of the march, the foulnes of the weather, and the badnes of the way, must of necessitie have lessened the Generalls numbers much ; and concluded, he could not be above foure hundreth horfe, and eight hundreth foot. And withall he told me, that many that were with the Generall, wold wearie of the fatigue of the march, and wold importune him to leave his foot, and follow with his horfe, which the said Wallace protested, he wold looke upon as a great advantage to his cause. I shew him he entertained such hopes in vaine ; for neither could the Kings forces be so much diminishd, or was it probable, the Generall wold separate his horfe and his foot ; “ a certain demonstration wherof,” said I, “ you have just now learnd, for you have heard that he hath causd his whole foot wade thorough that foord, which yesternight with some difficultie you passed on horseback. Bot if he wold have left his foot behind, it was his time to doe it on the other side of the river, and then have followed

you with his horſe." Moreover, I told him, it was like, the Lords who were with the Generall, were accompanied with numbers of the country gentlemen, with their friends and vaffals. At this he ſmild, and did infinuate, that theſe I mentioned were not like to doe him very great hurt, for he looked not on them as enemies to him or his cauſe. To this I anſwered, that all the gentlemen of the weſterne ſhires who were of his perſuaſion, had opportunitie and time enough to have joynd with him, before the Generall came the length of Kilmarnock. And ſo we parted for that time.

They came neere to Calder with daylight; and againe, I muſt ſay, that I have ſeldome or never ſeene luſtier foot then theſe they had. They keptd rank and file on that miſerable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horſe, and got to the van of them, either thorough neglect or miſunderſtanding of their officers. Bot Maxwell of Morith and Lermond rode up, and reduced them to their former order. Neere to Calder, I ſaw halfe a dozen of farmers meet with Maſter Semple, who told him, as I was informed, that a good number of his perſuaſion had that morning keptd a private rendezvous, of purpoſe to joyne with him, bot haveing heard that the Covenanted armie had marchd towards Glaſgow, they had diſbanded. Mr Semple imployed theſe fellows to be guides to their armie. When Wallace came up to us, he orderd his forces to march to Bathket, which was a litle out of the roade way to Edenburgh; this, I confeſs, made me doubt whether he intended for Edenburgh or Glaſgow. He increaſed my doubt, by asking me, whether I did not think that when Generall Dalyell heard that he, the ſaid Wallace, was at Bathket, he wold not imagine, that he had turnd head to Glaſgow, and therfor wold endea-



your to get between him and it. He smild when he askd me this question, hugging himselfe (as I found afterwards) with the fancie, that he had, by that turn of his, cast the Generall a whole days march behind him. I told him, there was no question bot the Kings Lieutenant Generall could not readilie resolve, whether to follow him straight to Edenburgh, or intercept his passage to Glasgou, for I myselfe, who was with him, did much doubt which of the tuo places he intended for. This doubt of mine made him laugh with open mouth, for it was no small joy to him to think he had puzzled me; and this gave me occasion to meditate a whole houre after, how vaine a thing man is.

Haveing well enough perceavd, notwithstanding this frolicke of his, that he still imagin'd the Kings forces were at his heels, and therfor wold not stay long in one place, I desird him to permit me, with my guards, to goe to some house, where I might repose a litle. My desire was civillie granted by him, and he seemd to regrave very much, both my condition and indisposition. My guards, (wherof David Scot, a weaver, was Captaine,) carried me straight to Bathket, and tooke up for my quarters the best alehouse; and there some countrey gentlemen of my acquaintance had beene undoubtedlie unhorsed, if I had not usd some dexterous means, not perceivd then by my blockheaded guards, to make them understand their danger, and escape it; for which some of my guards, forry to have loosed such a prey, complaind afterwards to Wallace, bot he tooke litle or no notice of it. After I had refreshd a litle, Mr Semple, and their pretended Generall Quartermaster, came to the house, and made quarter for the armie; bot so, that none of their horse were to lodge one mile beyond that place. When they

had done, and that Mr Semple, and I had discourf'd a litle, I caft myfelfe on the top of a bed, and fleepd till Wallace and the reft of his officers came. He and they made their fupper at my lodgeing; I was invited to it, bot pretended want of fleepe for my excufe. About tuelve of the clocke at night, “ Horfe, horfe, and mount the prifoner,” was proclaimd. All was readilie obeyed, and the march went from thence ftraight to Edenburgh; bot the raynie and boyfterous weather, the darknes of the night, and deepnes of the way, occafioned a moft diforderlie march; for after they were three or foure miles on their way, moft of them, both horfe and foot, went into houfes on the hie way, and by my perfuafion, fo did my guards too. We ftayd in a poore houfe, till daylight fummond us to horfebacke. That night fortie horfe were too many to have routed them all. Bot feldome doth one enemie trulie know what ane other is doing. Nixt morning, about ten of the clocke, they rallied well enough at the new bridge, five miles from Edenburgh. They drew up in tuo fquadrans of horfe, and one of foot. In the numbering of all the three, I could find few above one thoufand.

At this place, I neither heard prayers, pfalmes, or preaching; yet one of their minifters, (and they faid, it was either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie,) made a fpeech to them, which, if his caufe had beene good, had not been evill. He defird them to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had fuorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themfelves not onlie pieouflic to God, bot civillie and difcreetlie to man. He affurd them, their friends were readie to reflave and embrace them with open armes, and furnifh them with all neceffaries for backe and bellie, as alfo with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies; armes and amunition affuredlie

he meant. "Bot," said he, "you must not stop there, for to be civil to those who are good to you, deserves neither thanks nor reward. Bot I intreat you," said he, "to use all imaginable discretion to those who are not of your persuasion; endeavor to gain them with love, and by your good carriage, stop the mouths of your adversaries." This speech, though it was not unworthie a Christian, (thogh a rebell,) yet did it not at all please me; for by it I perceavd the minister conceavd the toune of Edinburgh to be his oune. Bot before he sleepd, I was disapufed, and he was disappointed.

It was now the seven and tuentieth day of the month, and threteenth of the infurrection, when the rebells marchd from that bridge to Collinton, tuo miles from Edinburgh. In some places of the way, they were in view of the Castle, bot at such a distance that the guns of it could not reach them. The place where they quarterd, by reason of a church and churchyard, a stone bridge, the water, because of the great raines, unfoordable, was defencible enough against infalls. My guards and I were lodged in the best inne, and about the evening, Wallace and most of his officers gave me a visite. He told me that he was more troubled for me than for himselfe; for he found it wold be convenient for him to stay in the field most of that night, which he thought wold not be fit for me to doe; and therfor askd me, if I wold not stay in my lodgeing with my guards. Bot I apprehending my guard might have order rather to dispatch me, then suffer me to be taken from them, told him, I wold rather choose to goe to the field with him. While we were speaking thus, the noyce of tuo pistolls gave ane alarm; Wallace presentlie left me, bot left order with my guard to keepe me in my lodgeing till his further direction. After a

little time he returned, and told me it was boysterous and rainie weather, and that he had resolved to let ane evill night kill itselfe; and that I might goe and take some rest if I pleased.

Bot the above mentioned Laurie of Blekwood his comeing to that place, with Mr Richard of Barfkemmine, who was sent from the Generall, made me resolve not to sleepe till I knew both their errand and their anfuere. And because I found I was not concernd in my oune particular in any of them, I resolvd to be the more free both in it and their generall message. Both of them gave me a visite, and I found Mr Laurie did not deceive my expectation of him. They had met with Wallace and his officers, before I saw them. Barfkemmine came alone without Laurie; he was followed by Mr Robbifone and tuo other phanaticks, who were to beare witnes what passd betueene him and me. I dare assure your Grace, Barfkemmine acted his part very handfomlie. He intimated to all he could either meet or speake with, (without any feare of the rebells,) his Majesties act of grace, and the Privie Councells proclamation; which did produce so good effects, that it diminishd their number at least one hundreth, before nixt morning. He and I both endevord very much to speake one word in private together, bot Mr Robbifone wold by no means permit it; yet we mannagd the busienes so well, that under the notion of some dollars, (which he offerd to lend me,) I told him the true number of the rebells, and as much of their designes as I either knew or could gueffe at. At our conference, one of my guards said, there was a fleet of fortie men of warre of Hollanders neere the coast of Scotland; to which Barfkemmine replyd, that whoever trusted to the Hollanders, leand on a broken reed; and this I seconded, which put Mr Robbifone in so great

a passion, that he did with much impudence avouch, that he and the rest of his partie were as ready to march against the Hollanders, in defence of his prince and his countrey, as either Barfkemmine or I, though I had my libertie. And then it was that I did declare to him, in presence of Barfkemmine, that I was readie to performe the promise I had made at Lanrick, of sacrificeing my life, to shunne the effusion of more blood, which I did too well perceave wold be shed. And it was then likewise that Mr Robbifone declard, that nothing wold satisfie their partie bot the dounfall of Episcopacie, and the restoration of Presbiterian government.

Before Barfkemmine came, I askd Wallace how it came to passe, that neither wine, good bread, nor strong waters, were brought from Edinburgh by his futlers. He answered me, that the provost of that citie had taken such a strict course for keepeing all so well within the toune, that nothing could be brought out of it; and that the same provost had appointed strong guards, with . . . fielding peeces, at everie port, and had cast up a very strong worke at the Westport, which I interpreted to be a barricado. He told me also, that he was of the opinion that the provost wold receive no message or addresse from him. By this ingenuous discourse, Colonell Wallace did exceedingly comfort me; for I had reason to imagine that the rebels made an account to get strong supplies out of that citie, if not to be absolute masters of it. About two or three of the clocke in the morning, the rebels quarters without Collinton were beaten up by some loyall gentlemen, under the command of my Lord Ramfay, as I suppose, who quarterd then in the Canongate with some of the gentry of Lothian, wherof he was Sheriffe. What number was kild or taken I did not

much inquire, bot they said themselves that a stout resistance was made.

That night, I was told by one of my intelligencers, that one of the rebels had undertaken to carry a message into Edinburgh, and bring an answer out of it from their friends. And so he might, for I knew the undertaker to be an Edinburgh merchant. Next morning the same person told me, that the messenger was returned, bot with what news he could not tell. "We shall," said I, "know that quickly by their motions." And it was as I said, for immediately they marched southward, dispaireing of any good from the citie.

It was the twentieth day of the month, and the fourteenth and last of the rebellion. At first, when they began their march, I imagined they intended for Dalkieth, and so to Tiviotdaill. Bot when I saw them leave that road, and take the way of Linton, I knew not what to thinke, and perhaps the rebels knew not what to doe. Some foure or five miles from Edinburgh, at a place called the Gallow Law, (an ominous name,) they made an halt, bot did not draw up, waiting for their reare, for many had stayd behind looking for their breakfasts. Some wherof, and these not a few, I saw go into Fulford, not to plunder, (for that was an odious word in the eares of the saints,) bot only to enquire how Sir William Purves his cellars were provided. His servants can tell if these pious people did offer any drinke money for what they ate, drunke, or tooke. At this place, one of my guards made me a proffer of some bread and cheese, which he said he had got at a curats house; for now the worke of reformation went so strongly on, that all gentlemen, and country farmers, who had any thing that was useful for the saints, paid under the name of curats. I told him,

I was readie to accept his offer, (and indeed, I was not so hungrie the whole time I was their prifoner,) if I could be affurd of a cup of ale, which he promisd to bring from the nixt alehouse. In the mean time came Wallace, who seeing me a foot, lighted from his horfe, and began to enter in a difcoursfe with me. Bot whill I endeavord both to heare him, and make ufe of my well purchacd vittails, one of my guards pointing at ane hie hill, cryd, " There comes the enemy ;" . . . ane other of them cryd, " It is a partie of our oune." We lookd presentlie that way, and whether Wallace was startled at this sight or not, I know not, bot I am fure I was so alarmd that I forgot my breade and cheefe. When I saw the partie appear numerous, I presentlie apprehended it was the Generalls forpartie, or forlorne hope, especiallie when I calld to mind that Barfkemmene had told me, that the head quarter the night before had been at West Calder. It provd to be as I thought, which, as I was afterwards informed, was commanded by Lieutenant Generall Drummond himfelfe. I said to Wallace, " Sir, be not surprisd, for this may prove to be a partie of your oune, which I saw ride up ane other hill a little while agoe." His anfuere was this ; " They are tuo blacke," meaneing many, " to be a partie of ours ; fy, fy, for ground to draw up on." To which I replyd, " You had best look for it elfwhere, for heere there is none." Both of us got presentlie on horfebacke, and since that time I never saw him. This I shall say of him, (rebell as he is,) he was constantlie civill to me, and I have charitie to beleeve, if he had not beene over ruled by others, the restraint of my libertie wold have beene the greateft hurt I might have expected from him. He tooke all his people, horfe and foot, round about the Gallow Law, and drew them up in that order as first Lieutenant Generall Drummond,

and thereafter Generall Dallyell saw them. I shall not offer to give your Grace an account of the skirmish which the Kings Major Generall and his forepartie had with the rebells, and the successfull issue of it, or how long he stood with his partie after that skirmish, before the cavalerie came up to him; onlie this I may assure your Grace, that it was very comfortable to me to see him keepe his ground. Nor shall I trouble your Grace to tell you, how long it was ere the foot could come up . . the horse, though all possible diligence, even to extremitie, was used by the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie to bring the infantrie up. And though these noble lords, and all under their command, could not bot be . . . so long and so arduous a march, (for though I was not with them, yet I went almost foot for foot before them,) in most stormie and tempestuous weather, and very bad way; yet at night, after the fight, I found both their lordships, and all under them, not only readie to prosecute the victorie, bot if need had beene, to have followed that night the rebells, if they had endeavored, without fighting, to have made their retreat. Neither shall I offer to trouble your Grace with the errors the Rebells committed at this their last tryall, or with the success of that unhappie encounter, being I know all this hath beene sufficientlie done by his Majesties Lieutenant Generall and Major Generall. I shall onlie presume to give your Grace an account of what they did not see, and what I did see.

After the encounter which the Major Generall had in the morning, I saw seven or eight of the Rebells horses come backe upon their squads, without riders; which, when thirtie or fortie of their horsemen (who were bot coming up from the reare,) did perceive, they kept on the high way to Linton, at a faire and full trot, without offering to turne



the hill to joyne with their brethren ; so much did selfe preservation prevaile over selfe denyall with these Covenanters. At which fight, three or foure of my guards askd me, what that flight meant. I dealt ingenuouſlie with them, and told them, that these who fled, did like wise men and good subjects, in embracing the Kings Act of Grace ; and in obedience of the Kings proclamation, were goeing home to their houses ; and if my guards were wise, they would do the like, for they wold find it wold prove their safest course. I found I had spoke more honestlie than prudentlie, for one of them told me I wold doe well not to use such discourageing words, and that he esteemd these who had diserted their partie were base, perjurd, and cowards ; this taught me to be more wary afterwards. I was shorthlie after that brought to the top of a litle hill, where I might see all was done. When the foot of his Majesties forces were joynd with the horse, my guards seemd to be something sollicitous of their owne safetie, which movd me to take the opportunitie to tell them, that they shoud suffer none of their owne armie to joyne with them, except these who were appointed to guard me, otherwise it might fall out that their guards, growing numerous, might be calld doune by Wallace to fight ; to which I perceavd they had bot litle stomacke. This advice they punctuallie followd. Then they desird me to use freedome with them, and tell them what my opinion was wold be the issue. I did not intend in this to satisfie their curiositie, for I thought my possessing them with vaine hopes, or dejecting them with fears, might prove equallie dangerous to me. I told them that the Kings Lieutenant Generall had stayd so long on the hill, that it was not probable he wold engage with them that night ; and that he was lodged in so strong a ground, that it was not

possible for the Covenanters to attack him, with any hopes of success.

Not long after this, the Lieutenant Generall drew doune from the hill in very good order. This my guards and I saw with equall joy, bot with farre different thoughts; for they told me they conceavd he wold march to Edenburgh, bot I had reason to be of ane other opinion. I was exceeding glad to see the matter brought now to a trial, at so great odds. I prayd heartilie for victorie to his Majesties forces, wherof I made no kind of doubt. I knew the odds of my particular condition might be this; if the Rebells were beaten, I might probablie be sent to ane other world that very night; bot if they were victorious, it was like I might be permitted to breath a day or tuo, and then put to death with some pretended forme of justice. We saw tuo gentlemen of the Kings armie try the ground on which they drew up afterwards, which they seemd to do exactlie. I understood therafter, that it was the Generall himselfe, and Muster master Generall Arnot. Both of them came so neere the Rebells that they could speake with them, and as I afterwards understood, the Generall was qualified by them with the title of Episcopall rogue, and the Generall Muster master with that of faucie fellow.

Whill the Kings forces were takeing up their ground, I was carried by my guards behind the little riseing of a ground, which hinderd me to see any thing. One Dandilling, a gentleman whom the Rebells had keepd prifoner with me fixe or seven days, came and told me, that Mr Cruikshank the minister, and one Thomas Maclellan, (a young gentleman who had done me severall good offices,) had beene both kild in the morning skirmish; and that he conceavd the Generall was endeavoring

to gaine the wind from the rebells. This was seconded by the report of tuo or three more of my guards. I defird I might be permitted to goe a litle from that place, and looke upon the Kings forces, affuring them I wold tell them my opinion freele; this they granted. I saw the infantrie and left wing of the horfe take up their ground, for the right wing had done it before. I rejoyced to see them so numerous; and then I told my guards, that the Generall would force them to fight that very night, and that he intended to give them faire play, for he had taken onlie the halfe of the wind to himselfe, and had left the other halfe for them; for the wind blew from the west.

When both parties were readie to advance, (for the rebells had changed their ground,) one Vetch, who was their pretended quarter-master, came and told my guards, that it was thought fitting that they and I shoud come from the hill, and stand behind their bodie, onlie, as he said, to make a show. We did so, bot by the way we met with Mr Welch and Mr Semple, who were goeing to take that advantage of ground which we formerlie had; and by doeing so, I thought both of them had provided indifferentlie well for their oune safetie. I stayd a litle with Mr Semple, who said to me, "Now, Sir James, that which we have beene disputting with you this fortnight bypast, since you were our prisoner, shall be decided in a very short time." "It is too like," said I, "bot whom blame you? If you had followd my advice, no blood bot mine had beene shed." We had some more discourse, not needfull now to rehearse.

When I saw the encounter wold be inevitable, and that my guards were doubtfull of the event, I thought it hie time to propone that to them which I had long premeditated, and which none of them could

at that nick of time reveale without their oun danger. My friends, said I, brusklie, "the day will be either yours or ours. If yours, I am still your prisoner, and I beleve I shall not be long troubled with you after your victorie. If the day proves ours, your lives and mine are in equall danger. If then the Kings forces gaine the victorie, defend you me from the violence of your partie in the flight, and I shall assure you of your lives."

To this proposition the eight who were with me, (for the other eight had left me to my fortune,) readilie assented. "Then," said I, "put your suords in your left hands, and hold up your right hands to heaven, and let both you and me sueare the performance of our mutuall promises." This was presentlie done; "And who will now say," said I, "that I am not a Covenantant?" Not long after this, we might heare Mr Welch and Mr Semple cry out very loudlie and very often, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob," without adding any more. This was, because they saw our commanded men give some ground; my very latlie suorne guards echoed the same words, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob." I askd them what they meant. They answered, Could I not see the Lord of Hostes fighting for them? I told them then very passionatlie, that they understood not their oun condition, for they might see that party, which they thought was beaten, rally and stand. They could not bot see the whole bodie of our foot, and left wing of our horse, advance with much courage and in very good order, with trumpets founding, and drums beateing. "And in one word," said I, "if your partie doe not reele, runne and fly within one quarter of ane houre, then I shall be contented you pistoll me." It fell out so, that thogh the rebells, for their number, fought desperatlie enough, yet it pleased the

Lord that they were beaten, and their horse fled apace. Whill I thought to make use of this opportunitie, came Canon of Mondroget, bleeding very fast, for wounded he was. He had professed kindnes to me formerly for some curtesies I had done to some neere friends of his ; bot he told me then, that I must goe with him. I answered, that I was so piti-fullie ill mounted that I could not ride up with him ; besides he knew I had no spurre allowd me, wherby I might helpe my nagge to runne. Bot he replyd, it was probable some of their officers might be made prisoners, and that I might helpe by exchange to relieve them ; therfor forward I must goe, for he neither could or would leave me behind him, and tooke God to witnes, it was much against his will. I told him, that since sure it was he could not get me forward with him as I was mounted, and his partie being routed, and himselfe wounded, it wold be no advantage to him to kill a person who had never done him any injurie, whatever other crimes were layd to his charge ; and with that I lookd over my shoulder, (for my guards still forced me to ride after him,) and saw our horse pursueing eagerlie enough, and were not farre from us. Then I calld to Mondroget, and advisd him to looke about, and see who was pursueing him, telling him it was now more time to save his oune life, then to seeke after ane other mans. This advice he followd by galloping away. Foure more of my guards had left me out of feare ; the other foure were soone perswaded to turne with me. I then commanded a drummer of mine, who had waited constantlie upon me, to tell any officer he met with, that I was there. He rencounterd with Alexander Cokburne, a servant of my Lord Duke Hammiltons, who was well armd and mounted. He came to me with much kindnes, and gave me and my prisoners, (for such were now

my guards,) the word and the figne, and conducted me to my Lord Duke. His Grace was pleas'd to resseve me with much civilitie and favour, and entertaind me with expreffions of so much kindnes as I doe reallie acknowledge not to have deserved. He gave order likewise that my prifoners shoud be kindly used, till nixt day they were deliverd to the foot guards ; and not long after, upon my humble supplication, had their lives and liberties granted them.

I was told here, that the rebells had rallyd, and that Lieutenant Generall Drummond was calling for the troopes to advance to him, and the foot to follow. I was easilie perswaded to beleve these news to be true, and therfor resolved to impart them to E. Linlithgow, whom I could easilie find out by the burning matches of his regiment, for now the day was spent. My lord was afoot, and it was some time before the kindnes of his officers and sojors did permit me to salute him. His lordship wellcomd me very affectionatlie, and I found he had draune up his regiment on the other side of the hill, where the rebells formerly stood, and was there attending the motions of a partie of men, which he saw on the top of a hie adjoyning hill. Bot when I had given his lordship assurance that these he saw could be no other bot countrey people, in regard I knew the rebells had no reserve ; he marchd with his regiment straight to the Lieutenant Generall, with much cheerfullnes and alacritie, and was immediatlie followd by E. Kellie. Bot the Lieutenant Generall haveing told me, that upon his advance with the horse the enemy was disperfd, both horse and foot went to quarters that night. Nixt day I had the good fortune to meet with the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, and many lords and other persons of qualitie, who all of them did with much kindnes and hu-

manitie congratulate my well neere dispaire of libertie ; which was very refreshing to me, after a short but sad tryall of the vicissitude and instabilitie of humane affaires ; for all which I give to God the praise and the glorie to whom it duely belongs.

End of the Relation made to the Earle of Rothes, His Majesties  
His Commiſſioner.

The Narration continues.

HEERE was an end of the Rebellion and my imprisonment, but not of all my misfortunes. Thogh at my returne to Edenburgh, I found persons of all ranks and qualities professe kindness to me, and seemd to be glad I had escapd so eminent a danger, yet everie man is not to be taken at his word ; the thoughts and designs of men are knowne to none but to him who hath keepd it as his prerogative, to know the heart. The King having beene perswaded before, that no insurrection was, or wold be intended against the present established government, was easilie induced to beleieve that my severitie, or at best my undiscreeit zeale, had occasiond the commotion. Bot yet it was not time to lay this at my doore ; something els must be done before.

It must be rememberd, what I sould have spoke of before, that about the month of August 1666, his Majestie having open warre with three dangerous enemies, France, Denmark and Holland, had, for the defence of his kingdome of Scotland, causd his regiment of foot guards be

made up ten companies, each to consist of one hundred men ; besides his castles, over whom he appointed E. Linlithgow to be Colonell, myfelfe to be Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urry to be Sergeant Major. He appointed also Generall Dallyell to raise a foot regiment of ten companies ; and his pleasure was, that ten troopes of horse, besides the two which were already raised, should be speedily levied, over all which forces he ordered the same Dallyell and Lieutenant Generall Drummond to command, the first in quality of Lieutenant Generall, and the second of Major Generall.

So soon as I came to Edinburgh, I intreated Generall Dallyell to call a councill of warre, wherein my deportment in these places where I had beene, might be impartially examined ; and if I were guilty of these crimes that were publickly talkd of, I might accordingly be sentenced and punished ; if not, that I might have an approbation of what I had done. This was denyd me severall times, in regard there was no complainer, accuser, or accusation against me. Heerupon I addressd myfelfe to the Privie Councill, my Lord Commiffioner not being returned from Court, and humbly beseechd their Lordships to heare and cognosce on any thing was said, or might be said against me. About this time, a libell was scatterd up and downe against me, wherein what blacke malice could invent or disgorge against myfelfe, or any of these parties which had beene under my command, was set downe in the darkest dy. I answered it, and all its parts, and in all its dimensions, as I have already said in my Relation. I intreated the Privie Councill, since there was none that appeared against me, except a *fama clamorosa*, and that libell, to which none could be found to affixe his name, that the libell itselfe, and my answer to it, might be examin'd ; and



that therafter, their Lordships wold come to a sentence of approbation or condemnation of my proceedings. Upon this, the Councell appointed three of their number, to wit, my Lord Bellenden, my Lord Renton, and Sir Robert Murray, late provost of Edenburgh, to examine the whole matter, and make a report to them. This was accordinglie done; and after my Lord Commiffioners returne, the report was made, that till the libeller did prove his paper, I was to be justified in all I had done. Now the libeller, even when a yeare therafter I was brought on the stage, and that he had a faire time offerd him to play his game above boord against me, never appeard personallie or by proxie, by word or by writ, directlie or indirectlie. And thogh Naphtali, in his infamous booke, hath set doune that libell allmost verbatim, and will perswade his reader that it was a true relation, and that my anfuere to it consisted onlie of negatives and denyalls, yet let any peruse my anfuere, (and many copies I have given of it,) they will find Naphtali as great a liar in that, as he is in most of the passages of that booke which he wrote against all that are in authoritie, from the lowest to the hieft; for there are many things in the libell, which in my anfuere I acknowledged to be true, and that the actors of them were punished by me, as haveing done things without my warrand. Many things I acknowledged to have beene done by myselfe, for which I was warranted by my instructions. Many things, indeed, I absolutlie denied, because I knew them, *ex certissima scientia*, to be lyes and calumnies. Many things were alleadged in the libell to have beene committed which, thogh true, could never have reflected on me, in regard I never heard either the actors or the crimes complaind of, till I red them, first in the written libell, and then in printed Naphtali.

By example, where was my fault, if any unchristian horfman under my command, gave the remainder and crums of their dinners to their dogs, not alloweing any of them to the children of their landlords? Or if any barbarous fojors (who fould have beene at church themfelvs,) did beate fome countrey men, whom they found praying among the rockes, on the Lords day? Or if any prophane and godles trooper faid, he wold recommend his camerad, who was a dying, by his letter to a friend of his who was in hell, to provide him good winter quarters; how could thefe, I fay, reflect on me, who never heard of them? Indeed, if complaints had beene made to me, and I had neglected to have punifhd fuch offenders, I had defervd to have beene banifhd out of all Chrifian focietie for ever. Bot thefe things are not fo much as mentiond in all thefe depofitions which the yeare after were taken, and upon oath too, from all the people in Galloway and Niddfdail, where I had quarterd; and it is not at all probable fuch complaints wold have beene finotherd, where not onlie the people had a libertie, bot ane encouragement, to fpeake what they pleafd againft me. Bot well may the nameles libeller, and fhameles Naphtali write what they please, fo long as they conceale their names, which I never did, nor intends to doe, from any thing I ever wrote in my life.

Bot the libeller is more to be excufed than Naphtali, for the firft had vented his libell before I was prifoner, and therefore knew not what the Rebels knew afterwards, when they had red my commiffion, inftructions, and all my papers at Damellintoun; where they confesd I had not done fo much by halfe as by my orders I might have done. They then acknowledgd, I nor my partie had not got the fourth part of the money wherwith I was charged. This the libeller, I fay, did

not know, when he wrote his libell. Bot Naphtali could not bot know it before he wrote that impudent booke of his, being he could not bot have learned it from the rebells, his deare correspondents. Yet wold he choose rather against truth and his oune conscience, to grope after the libeller in the darke, then make use of the light he might have borroued from his oune beloved partie. What a monstrous sounge did they make up, no lesse than seventeene thousand pounds sterline, that I and my parties had got in moneys, meate, quarterings and bonds; yet the depositions of all those that ever I had cefd or quarterd on, being exactlie taken on oath in the end of the yeare 1667, declares them impudent and shameles lyars; for it is yet to be seene in the councell office, that all which was pretended to have beene taken in three yeares time in cefse, quarter, meate and drinke, moneys and bonds, yea, and irregular actions and plunderings, did not exceed tuo thousand seven hundredreth and fiftie pounds sterline, not the fixth part of the libeller and Naphtalis sounge. Bot they knew themselvs that wrong account is no payment; bot to speake truth, I thinke I have duelt too long with such false accountants.

After this, I petitiond my Lord Commiffioner and the Councell for ane approbation. Severall lords preffd it with strong reasons, bot most said, that the Councell haveing given me no commiffion, could not judge whether I had walkd according to my instructions or not. Bot notwithstanding that, I was put in hopes to obtain my desire at that time; yet he who had given me the commiffion by which I had acted, did nothing at all for me.

After I came out of prifon, so soone as convenientlie I could, I petitioned the Councell for these prifoners who had beene of my guards,

as is fet doune in my relation. The Councell referrd the matter to the Generall, who, at my intercession, and their takeing the declaration, gave them their lives and liberties, and his passes to goe home, and I gave each of them a litle money to carry them to their houses. One more, who had beene my intelligencer, my Lord Commiffioner, at my humble sute, savd from hanging at Aire, and therafter gave him his libertie.

After so pitiefull a toyle, I was adviced to purge; and this hinderd me to goe west with my Lord Commiffioner, when he marchd with the forces to reduce that countrey to order; bot I followd him soone after, and waited on him at Glasgow when he came backe from Aire. Some fixe and threttie or therby of the rebels were hangd at Edenburgh, Glasgow and Aire. The rest, who were above a hundreth, escaped one way or other. And now I appeale to Mr Naphtali himfelfe, if any of these fixe and threttie ever mentioned my name in their speeches at their executions, or blamd me for oppreffion, or directlie or indirectlie insinuated that I had occasiond the insurrection. None knows better then Naphtali, who hath very carefullie collected all their testimonies, (as he calls them,) perhaps pend the most of them.

Generall Dalrymple's foot regiment lay a while at Aire, I thinke till June 1667. The regiment of guards was appointed to march to Edenburgh; fixe companies lay in the Canongate, and I with foure more did ly at Lieth. It was dureing the convention of estates, who, by his Majesties command, were assembled to find out meanes to entertaine the late levied foot and horse, which were not to be a militia very long. Upon the eleventh of February, at twelve of the clocke at night, I was calld away in haste to Glasgow to my wife, who had taken both a sud-

den and a dangerous disease, which was indeed the effect of that melancholie she had contracted for my imprisonment ; for though her carriage during that affliction was that which became both a sober and a christian woman, yet griefe had got so deepe ane impressiõ in her heart, that she could not overcome it, no not with my restoration to libertie. I staid three weeks with her ; and indeed all the crosses that had ever befallen me, and the last one too, which was one of the greatest, seemd no thing to me in comparisõ of that I then sufferd, by the sad apprehension I had to be separated from so deare and so precious a yokefellow. It pleasd God she betterd, and the phisitians assuring me there was no more danger, I returnd to my charge at Lieth. Bot the very nixt day after my comeing, I was advertisd that she was fallen in a dangerous relapse. I returnd to Glasgow, haveing first causd shew my Lord Commiffioner, the Generall, and E. Linlithgow, the cause of my sudden departure. At my arriveall at Glasgow, I found her heavilie sicke ; some intervalls of ease she had, bot both few and short. I staid three weekes with her the second time, till it pleasd the Lord to better her condition so farre, that the phisitians once more thought my longer stay needles. This mercy comforted me more than my late misfortune had afflicted me.

When I came to Edenburgh in Aprile, I found the regiment of guards was removd to Fife, to defend that coast against forreine invasion. Everie companie had a toune allowd for quarter, and mine had St Andrews. I lookd on all the companies in passing, before I came to St Andrews, the Archbishop wherof I found very sicke of a tertian. Nothing past that summer in Scotland, of acts of hostilitie worthie remembrance, except that Van Gent, one of the Vice-admiralls of Hol-

land, with tuo and threttie gallant men of warre, came up the Firth ; who, having spent to no purpose, above one thousand shot of canon at Burnt Iland, and killd onlie one fisher at the Weims, returnd that same night, haveing both wind and tide to carry him away. In Burnt Iland were my Lord Commiffioner himfelfe, E. Linlithgow, and tuo companies of foot ; a troope of horfe comeing to them fhortlie after. At Kircaldie, was Colonell Urrey with tuo foot companies more ; the other fixe companies were with me at the Eli, a place moft fit for them to land at. Trulie, if that Hollander had put it to the hazard to have landed his foot, which in fo many veffells could be no fewer then three thoufand, at any place bot where we were, I thinke in all probabilitie he might have plunderd and burnd the moft, if not all the touns of that coaft, the countrey not being in any kind of pofture of defence. Bot the fame Van Gent, as they fay, behavd himfelfe more advantageouflic for his mafters, and more miffortunatlic for England that same fummer at Chattum. Many other alarms we had, bot they provd all falfe ones, and it was well fo ; for if we had beene handfomlic attackd, we might have had juft reason to have had more then the halfe of the feare.

About Lambes of the yeare 1667, his Majeftie haveing concluded a firme peace with all thefe neighbours of his who had made warre againft him, to ease his kingdome of Scotland of the great burthen lay on it, for the maintenance of fo great a militia, he orderd all his troopes of horfe except tuo, to be difbanded, and Generall Dallyells regiment of foot likewise. In the beginning of September, he commanded three companies of the ten wherof his regiment of guards confifted, to be fent to France, the Captaines therof haveing belonged formerlie to

Lord George Douglas in that kingdome. The fifteenth day of September was appointed for them to march from Enfter to Burnt Iland, to reflave what was oweing them, and then to goe a fhipboord. Bot moft of the fojors haveing ane averfion from the French fervice, and preying on the Captaines weakenes, who were Melvill, Ritherfurd and Lieth, mutined, refufing to march, and calling imperioufflie for their pay. If the Captaines had beene either wife or liberall, they might have engaged moft of all their fojors to goe with them to France, by giveing each of them a croune or tuo at moft, in hand, as levie money, and fo both have prevented the mutinie, and carried over their companies; for the King had declar'd he wold force none of them to goe. Bot as avarice is the root of all iniquitie, fo it provd heere; for the narrow hands of the Captaines loft them both their liveliehoods and reputations. Neither did they take any courfe befitting militarie men, to compefce the mutinie. Tuo of them fled, the third was detain'd in the qualitie of a prifoner, never one of the three ever offering to draw a fuord. The reft of the officers fhifted for themfelvs. The tuo that thought they had fped well by haveing escapd, ftayd at Leven and refrefhd themfelvs and horfes, at all leifure, without fo much as acquainting the Earle of Rothes, who was Captaine Generall, or E. Linlithgow, who was their Colonell, thogh the firft was at Balgonie within four miles of them, the fecond at Edinburgh; or did they ever offer to fend to me, who was their Lieutenant Colonell, thogh they knew well enough where I might be found. They went therafter to Kircaldie, and after a breathing, one of them went to Edinburgh, and the other to my Lord Chanclor. Mellvill rencountering by chance with a fervant of mine, wrote to me, in what condition he had left Enfter; this letter came to

a gentlemans house where I was, about tuelve a clocke at night. I wrote instantlie to Colonell Urrey, to bring E. Linlithgows companie from Kircaldie, and his oune from Difart, with him to the Eli, where I fould, God willing, meet him. I wrote also to Saint Andrews, for my oune companie to march with all haste thither.

Nixt morning I rode to the Eli, where I found Sir George Curror sicke and bedfast, bot his companie in armes and in good order, as was also Captaine Whites at Pittenweim. I sent Lieutenant Leviston of Westquarter, who belongd to these mutinous companies, to tell the mutineers that I was come to heare and redresse their grievances, and therfor requird them to meet me without the toune in the field. They returnd me anfuere, that for severall reasons they could not leave the toune, bot I fould be very wellcome to come in to them. I did so, and was met at the entrie by threttie musketeers, for my honor, said they, to convoy me to the shore, where I found them all in armes, with their collors flying. I was enviroind round, and so close, that I could not get my horse movd from the place where I stood. I perceavd the mutinie had comd to a great heighth, for they had chosen their officers and speakers, and presented me with a petition directed to E. Linlithgow, and in his absence, to me. I harangud them, and demonstrated to them the ouglines and follie of this action of theirs; I cryd up their former loyaltie and services, and advised them not to staine the reputation of them by this tumultuarie and unadvised rashnes of theirs, which I wold not tearme mutinie, wherof I knew so gallant men could not be guiltie. I did not faile likewise to shew them, that I knew how to force the most disobedient of them to duetie, bot hopd they wold be wiser as to put a neecessitie on either me, or these above me, to make use



of our pouer. I rallied and made merrie with some of them, and they made sport with me ; and in end, after many discourfes, I promisd they fould be payd at Burnt Iland all was duellie oueing to them, and that none of them fould be forcd to goe a fhipboord againft his will. They defird to be payd and difbanded there where they were ; this I wold by no meanes grant. Their mufkets were chargd with tuo balls at leaft, many with three ; fome of the mutineers gave fire upon the houfes over my head. At length I commanded drums to beate, and crying, " God fave the King," which they likewife did, I orderd the colours to follow me ; and without more noyfe, carried them fairlie to Leven, feven miles from the place where they were, and the nixt day to Burnt Iland, where they were all difarmd and difbanded.

So foone as my Lord Chancellor knew of the mutinie, he wrote to E. Linlithgow to come over out of Edenburgh to appeafe it. Strange and very ftrange it was, he wold not write to me, who, he knew, was within foure miles of him. And as ftrange it was in E. Lithgow, to thinke that I wold be fo tame as to fit ftill and doe nothing till he came ; for fo foone as he arrivd at Burnt Iland, he wrote to Saint Andrews, (thinking I was there,) for me to meet him at Enfter. His letter I got on the 16th of September, at night, when I was quartering the mutineers at Leven. A drummer, who was ane Englifhmen, and feven or eight more, who had beene the ringleaders of the mutinie, were feizd on at Burnt Iland ; for I had promisd indemnitie to none of them, neither indeed did ever any of them feeke it from me. Bot by a private advice from the Privie Councell, I fuffered them all to make their efcares, a month or therby thereafter, out of the tolbooth of Leith.

A month and more before this mutinie, Generall Dallyell acquainted me, that E. Kellie had told him, that there was a resolution to take my charge from me, and to give it to him. I beleeeve his Lordship got a very rough reprimend from some of his friends, for not keeping his oune secrets better. I was apt to beleeeve there was such a designe, and therfor resolvd rather to goe out, then to be thrust out. I made a proffer of my charge to my Lord Kellie, provided I might be Major, and Colonell Urrey eldest Captaine, as we had formerlie beene. My Lord had good reason to thanke me for so kind ane offer. In the meane time, I movd my Lord Chancellor to write something of it to E. Lauderdale; who returnd him anfuere, that he had never heard of any such thing before.

Sir Robert Murray, Privie Counsellor and Commiffioner of the Treasurie, told me, much about that time, that the King haveing heard some grievous complaints of me, intended to order his Privie Councell to examine the matter. I told him, I wonderd any complaint sould come to the King of me, since none was made to the Councell, to whom it properlie belonged, to take notice of such affaires; it not being ordinarie to runne directlie to the King, *per saltum*, in contempt of that authoritie which he had establihed in Scotland. He anfuerd, the King did in these things as he pleafd. I said, I thought it very strange, I was not brought sooner on the stage, it being now neere a twelve-month since I came out of prison. He gave me indeed a reason, which hugelie increasd my admiration. So long, said he, as the armie stood, you were too strong for your accusers, neither durst they be seene against you; bot now, that the forces, for most part, are disbanded, the Councell may take notice of you with lesse trouble. I replyd, that

then I had beene mistaken formerlie, in thinking that the armie wold rather have affistid justice to be administred, then have given any obstruction to it ; and with that we parted.

Meane while E. Kellies friends thought it fit he fould gett me to ratifie under my hand the proffer I had made him, which, they thought, being bot verball, I might avouch or deny as I pleased. I resolvd they fould see I was a man of my word ; and therfor immediatlie, by way of letter, made my former offer, and that without any hesitation. My letter was sent to Court, and instantlie his Majesties order came to the Councell, to see E. Kellie admitted Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey and myfelfe returne to our former charges ; which was accordingly done, in prefence of my Lord Bellenden and Sir Robert Murrey, in the sands of Lieth, the 2d of November, 1667.

I thought, by this addresse of mine, I had conjurd away the storme prettie well ; bot I had cast up a wrong account, for a letter from the King, of the date of the 17th of November, came to the Councell, in which, among other things, he commands their lordships to call me before them, to examine my deportments strictlie, and what moneys I had exacted, and make a report of all to his Majestie. The Councell appoints a committee of nine of their number, which consisted of the principall councellors, foure or five wherof were of the long robe. At this time, neither my Lord Chancellor nor E. Tweeddaill were comd from Court. I am brought before this committee, and once I intended to have pleaded, that I could not be accusd of any thing I had done dureing the time I was Lieutenant Colonell, being his Majesties conferring the new charge of Major upon me insinuated a pardon of any crime I formerlie could have beene guiltie of ; bot I resolvd not to clafh

with the King in any thing, much lesse to quible in a busienes which concernd myfelfe fo very neare.

The Committee was civill to me; the President of the Seffion being chosen President, cauld offer me a chaire, which I absolutlie refused, being, I said, I was before them in the qualitie of a defender, and they were the representatives of my judges. They inquired, which of the tuo I thought most convenient to be done, in order to his Majesties commands; whether to referre the matter to my oune relation, which they hopd wold be ingenuous, or if they fould send one of their oune choosing to Niddsdaill and Galloway, to assist such gentlemen of that cuntry as the Councell fould impouer, to take depositions against me. I freelie told them, the shortest way wold be to take my oune relation, which I promisd fould be a faithfull one; for I wold acknowledge the reffait of as much as all the depositions they could get wold amount to; and after the conclusion of the whole busienes, they both found and acknowledged that to be true, what I then told them. Bot at this time they resolvd both to take my relation, and send one from themselves also; for it seemes they thought it was good to be sure. Mr James Thomfone, a commissare and ane exchequer man, was desired to goe; bot he refused the employment, saying he wold not so badlie requite the favours he pretended to have reffaved from me. Bot ane other was quicklie found, for fiftene shillings sterline *per diem*, one Buntein, ane under cleark of the exchequer. Him they dispatch with all necessary orders and instructions. This act of councell, to invite, desire, nay, constrain men to complaine, hath had, for any thing I know, bot few or no precedents. My first compeareance was on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, and Buntein was orderd to returne against the first of Januare 1668.

I defird libertie till then, to goe and ftay at Glafgow with my wife, who was then ficke, which was fairlie granted me. Nixt day I rode thither, where indeed I found my deare wife, (who had had bot litle health all that fummer, and whom I had not feene in eight months before,) ficke of a lent feaver. About Chriftnas, fhe being fomewhat conva-  
lefced, I tooke my leave of her, and returned to Edenburgh, there to waite for Buntein, of whose motions, actings and practifes againft me, I had fufficientlie good intelligence; and both he, and thefe who fent him, did find I was not fo hated as they had fancied, bot had acquird the affection of the beft and honnefteft of the gentrie, who faild not to let me know all that paffd wherein they conceavd I might be concernd. At my comeing to Edenburgh, I found by the committee of the coun-  
cell, that Buntein pretended he had not yet done all his bufienes, thogh the time prefixed to him was well neere expired. It is like he defird the continuation of his daylie falarie of fifteene fhillings fterline; and I found the committee was not averfe to allow him it for a longer time, perhaps thinking the longer time they gave him, the greater feats he wold be able to doe againft me. Bot his ftrengh was fpent, and he came backe in the beginning of Januare. I muft not forget to tell, how the gentlemen, who were deputed by the Councell for takeing de-  
pofitions againft me or my partie, did examine all or moft on oath; a thing in itfelfe illegall, at leaft feldome or never practifd, for a mans oath in his oune caufe proves nothing; yet this thefe gentlemen did, not without my private affent, for I found a benefite by it; the ma-  
lice of many of the phanaticks being fuch, as they wold have declard any thing againft me, or thefe under my command, if they had not beene reftraind by the dreadfull awe of ane oath.

After the Committee had seene and perused all the declarations and depositions which Buntein had brought, one of them (whom I need not name,) drew up fiftene grievances of illegall and disfavouable proceedings of mine, all of them grounded, as they said, upon these declarations. This monstrous paper of grievances was a month a hatching ; then I was sent for, and desired to answer them. I told the lords, that these declarations, on which the grievances were pretended to be grounded, must be all legallie proven, els they could doe me no hurt. Bot least their Lordships should thinke, that I tooke advantage of the impossibilitie of that probation, (for no witnesses could be led against me bot these who were *socii criminis*,) I was readie to take the paper and answer it, provided they gave me time, and I desired a month. Bot Sir Robert Murrey told me, that it being now in Februaire, and the Lords to goe to the countrey in the beginning of March, the ordinarie time of vacancie, so long a time could not be allowed me ; yet all or most consented to a fortnight. I desired to have the declarations or depositions given me, that I might see how cleerlie the grievances were deduced from them ; bot I was told, I should have access to the Councell Chamber where these papers were kept, bot they could not suffer them to be carried elsewhere. I thought this was severe, not to give it a worse name ; bot I did not value much this refuseall, for I had a perfite copie of them all sent me by my friends, which I ressed before Buntein arrivd at Edenburgh with the principall.

Before the fortnight came to ane end, E. Tweeddaill returned from Court ; his Lordship was appointed to be ane additionall member of my committee. The time prefixd to me being expird, I appeared ; where I found E. Tweeddaill, after debate, voted to preside. He did not for-

beare to exerce that charge with vigour enough, yet with very much discretion and civilitie, which sweetned the bitter pill I knew I was to swallow ; for I perceavd that thogh by not acknowledging myfelfe guiltie, I fould save my reputation a litle, yet in the end I must succumbe ; for the promise of my charge to E. Kellie told me I was pre-condemned. I gave in my answers, which were read and heard attentivelie enough ; bot some of them relating to my commiffion and instructions, I was desired to shew them to the Committee. I told them, that which was true, that I had neither of them, for when the rebels tooke myfelfe, they tooke also them and all my other papers. And indeed, when I was first questiond, I was not master of them, thogh afterwards, with much paines and trouble, and the powerfull mediation of moneys, I got them againe in my hands. The reason I wold not shew them was, that I feared matter of complaint might be pickd out of them, which wold not at all save me ; and this I was sensible enough of, that the shewing them might wrong my Lord Chancellor, and doe me no good ; for I was told that I was lyable to punishment for giving obedience to illegall commands. I was questiond thereafter about some particulars of my written defences, as also concerning two written declarations given in against me by two malititious and infamous persons, not without the instigation of my Lord Cochran, one of my committee, and consequentlie one of my judges ; which declarations I might easilie have repeld, by telling the Lords that I wold answer none of them, till the base accusers undertooke to prove them, which was purlie impossible. Bot to them and all other interrogatories, I gave such returns as were interpreted, even by these who were none of my best friends, to be moderate, submisfe, ingenuous and can-

clide ; and indeed I was informed, some of them said I had given a full demonstration I was not the man I was characterd to be, proud, passionate, hasty and furious. And yet I confesse, my humour never was, nor is not yet, one of the calmest ; when it will be, God onlie knowes ; yet by many sad passages of my life, I know that it hath beene good for me to be afflicted. By this testimonie of theirs I was a gainer, though I lost my charge. I was desir'd to tell them extemporarie, how much the free quarter, meate and drinke, bonds and money, exacted by me and my parties, the three severall times I was in Galloway, might extend to. I told their lordships, I knew well enough that the depositions of all parties concerned, in which were set doune plunderings, did not exceed three and threttie thousand pounds Scots ; of that I could abate, even in their owne judgments, five thousand pounds ; neither was I bound to acknowledge the rest, for it could never be made out against me ; yet to ease their lordships of further trouble, and shew them my owne ingenuitie, I wold charge myselfe with threttie thousand pounds. They openlie declar'd that they thought I had spoke so ingenuoullie, that more could not be chargd upon me. Where are then the seventeene thousand pounds sterline wherewith the infamous libeller and nameles Naphtali charge me ? Haveing beene keepd by the Committee above foure houres, I was dismiss'd ; and indeed I will say, that the whole time of my tryall I was dealt with as a gentleman ; for they never offerd to imprison, arrest or bayle me, or yet did ever command me to forbear the exercise of my charge, for I . . . . on my command, till the very last minute that I layd doune my commissions.

My busines now drawing neere a close, a report was draune up, to be sent to his Majestie by one of the members of the Committee, (whom



I need not name ;) and as to the rest, some of them got some harsh words expunged, and made the report something smoother, as indeed at best it was but bad enough. The day it was to be read in the Privie Councill, I petitioned their lordships that I might be permitted to see it, before it was sent to the King. This many of the Lords thought very modest and most reasonable; others would not hear it, alledging, it was to lay the Committee and me in a balance, and to make them my party, and consequentially send them all to the barre as well as me. The matter for a while was well enough debated, but carried in the negative, and declared I should not see the report till it was sent away. But to please me, they ordered, after it was off, a copie of it to be given me, and so indeed there was one next day in the afternoon, when I believe the post of the principall was the length of Morpeth. Before I proceed further, it will be fit to give a true copie of the Report, by which the fifteene grievances, wherwith I was formerly charged, are not onlie set downe in base characters, but are conveyed to the King with fixe more to accompany them.

A true Copie of the Report sent to his Majestie concerning me, from  
Edenburgh the nineteeneth of Februaire 1668.

The Lords of his Majesties Councill did no sooner receive his Majesties commands, in his gracious letter of the twentieth one of November last, for taking exact examination of Sir James Turners deportment in the west, but they ordered and impowered a Committee of their number to inquire diligently into them; and by their Report it appears, that,

upon information from the Stewartrie of Kirkcubright, given in upon oath of parties, or their masters, or their neighbours, many illegall exactions have beene made, and disorders committed. Such as, First, quartering of sojors for levieing fines and impositions. Secondlie, Exacting cesse for quartering money for more sojourns then were actuallie present, somtimes for double the number or more, (and that besides free quarter for these present,) sometimes 8 pence, sometimes twelve pence, sometimes 16 pence, and sometimes more, for each man. 3°. Cesse exacted for diverse dayes, sometimes for eight, ten, or more, before the partie did actuallie appeare. 4°. Imposeing of fines, and quartering, without any previous citation, or heareing of parties. 5°. Fineing without due information from ministers. 6°. Fineing such as livd orderlie, as appears by ministers testificates. 7°. Fineing and cessing for causes for which there are no warrands from acts of parliament or council; as first, baptiseing of children by outed ministers; secondlie, baptiseing by neighbouring ministers, where the parish church is vacant; thirdlie, for marrying by outed ministers; fourtlie, for keeping conventicles. 8°. Fineing for whole years preceeding his comeing to the countrey, and that after they had begun to live orderlie. 9°. Fineing fathers for their daughters baptiseing children by outed ministers, thogh forriffamiliate fix months before, and liveing in another parish. 10°. Fineing without proportionating the sounge with the fault. 11°. Fineing whole parishes promiscuousslie, as well those that lived orderlie as these that did not. 12°. Fineing whole parishes where there was no incumbent minister. 13°. Fineing one that lay a yeare bedfast. 14°. Forcing bands from innocent people. 15°. Cessing of people that were not fyned. 16°. Takeing away cattle and other goods. All these acts

are illegall misdemeanors. Of other kinds there are, 17°. Agreeing for cefse and fines both in one foume, wherby accounts were confounded. 18°. Not admitting complainers who were cefd upon, to come to his prefence; alleadged to have beene his conftant cuftome. 19°. Permitting his fervants to take money for admitting people to him, and yet acceffe denyd. 20°. Increafeing the number of quartering fojors after complaints. 21°. Exacting of moneys for removeing of fojors after cefse and fynes were payd.

Everie one of the forgoeing articles is made out by information upon oath, which yet doth not amount to a legall prooffe; which, in moft of thefe cafes, will be difficult if not impoffible to obtaine, in regard that no witneffes can be had that are not lyable to exception, unles by examineing officers, fojors and fervants, which wold take up much time and labour.

Sir James Turners defences as to fuch of the forgoing articles as he acknowledged, are commiffions and instructions from the then Lord Commiffioner, for quartering to raife fines, for fineing fuch who forbore going to church, or married or baptifed by outed minifters, or keepd conventicles; and that upon the delation of credible perfons, and to preferre them to thefe of minifters. Bot he doth affirme, all his commiffions and instructions were taken by the rebels, when he was made prifoner, and fo hath nothing to fhew for his vindication. And for all the other heads above written, he either denys matter of fact, afcribes the tranfactions to others, or pleades ignorance.

The foumes of money reflaved for fines and cefse, and bonds taken, he acknowledged to have amounted to be threttie thoufand pounds fcots. The foumes charged on him by the countrey, befides quartering,

comes to about threttie eight thousand pounds Scots ; wherin is not reckond what was exacted from any of those who rose in rebellion, and some parishes in Galloway from whence no information was returned.

And as to his surprisall, he sayth, Firft, he had bot fixtie fixe foot in these parts under his command. Secondlie, that they were all disperfed throw the countrey about the fines, so that there was not so many left with him as to keepe guard at his lodgeing, nay, not so much as one, some nights before. Thirdlie, that he had no order to keepe a guard about him, or to fortifie himselfe, thogh there be a strong house within the toune called the Castell, to which he might have retired with some thretteene sojournis that came in that night before he was taken. Fourthlie, that he had intelligence there was a riseing in the countrey ; and that a corporall of his was shot, who told him that there were divers persons got together, who had intelligence from the north of a riseing there, with ane intention to march to the citadell of Aire, and to seize it and the armes which had beene taken from the countrey. Fifthlie, that about midnight, he wrote to George Maxwell of Munches. Sixthlie, he sent orders to some more of his sojourns to meet him the next morning, intending towards Newgalloway, where the riseing was reported to be. Seventhlie, that he rose about fixe of the clocke that morning, bot being indisposed, lay doune againe, and being up in his gounne about eight a clock, he was furrounded and taken.

This is all that can be expected for his Majesties present information concerning Sir James Turner. As to what further concerns the money he intromitted with, it may be lookd after, according to the way his Majestie shall appoint.

End of the Report.

The sending away of this Report to the King without permitting me to see it, was the hardest measure I met with the whole time of my tryall, and perhaps is an action that wants a precedent. I wrote an answer to that Report, and every article of it, and that so ingenuously and candidly that I could, to verify the truth of it, goe to death. But finding it was in vaine to shew it to the Councell, now that the business was out of theirs, and in the Kings hands, and fearing, if I should send it to Court, either no use, or a bad use should be made of it, I only shew it to some of my friends. The copie of it follows.

#### My Answer to the Report.

The Report which the honourable Committee made to the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councell, and which their Lordships sent to his Majestie concerning me, had nothing in it on their parts but truth, neither entered it ever in my secretest thoughts to question the veritie of it; I meane still, on their part; for they but reported these things that were alleadged against me, and many of them furorne by the parties. But because their lordships in that Report affirme, that no legall proove was got, or could possibly be obtained, I shall beg libertie shortly, but verie ingenuously, to answer every article of that Report.

1°. The first I acknowledge to be true, and was warranted for it by the fourth article of my instructions, dated the 6th of March, 1666.

2°. I absolutely deny, that I ever gave order, permitted or connivd at any such exactions, neither was there ever any complaints of that nature brought to me; and the contrary of this, I say, will never be provd. My answer to the 7th and 8th grievances clears it fullie.

3°. I deny that ever any such thing was done by my order or connivence; and if it was done at all, it hath beene by secret tranfactions betueene the parties and the fojors, without my knowledge; neither was ever any such thing complained of, as is more fullie containd in my anfuere to the fixth grievance.

4°. The fourth I grant to be true, as being obliged to it by my orders, as appeareth by the formentiond fourth article of my instructions. Neither, indeed, was it possible to use any such previous citation or formall proceffe, nor was it needfull, the most of the parties acknowledging guilt.

5°. Minifters could not give due information of conventicle keepers; and I was obliged by my commiffion to cefle upon, and fyne such without the minifters, the thing being made cleere to me otherwise, as more fullie appeares in my anfuere to the third and fifth grievances.

6°. It neither can or ever will be provd, that I fynd or cefd on any that livd orderlie. As to the minifters testificates, tuo instances were given in the grievances, the one of Keirick parish, which perhaps may be true, thogh I do not at all remember either the thing or the parish. The other is of Irongray, to which I shall speake in my anfuere to the ninth article. To both I say now, I was not obliged to regard testificats from neither minifter or other man, after subscribed lists were given me, as appeares by the fourth article of my instructions.

7°. The seventh article is subdivided in foure. To the first I anfuere, I granted I did so, and was warranted for it by the first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. To the second I say, it is a meere calummie, for I exhorted all who had no minifter of their owne, to goe to the nixt adjacent church, both for heareing the word, and getting

the benefite of the sacraments ; and never hinderd or dischargd any, provided the minifter who officiated was conforme ; if not, I could not permit it, being orderd to the contrare in the formentiond first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. The third I grant, being warranted to it by the formentiond articles of my instructions. The fourth I grant, being warranted by the third article of my instructions, dated the 6th of May, 1666.

8°. I grant I did so with some wicked, malititious and obstinate contemners, whom the bishops and ministers gave me in their lists, for I was to be rul'd by them for the time when I beganne to cesse. Bot assur'dlie I find none whom they declared to have begunne to live orderlie ; for they thought it not enough that some, at my approach to them, declared they wold keepe the church afterward. Bot with whom the ministers were satisfi'd, so was I too. Bot neither they nor I were satisfi'd with the hipocriticall carriage of one of the worst of men, Steuart of Cullgruff, for whose sake this article is foyfted in.

9°. The honorable Committee hath put in this article, upon a most unjust and false information. It is the busines of Irongray. First, it was no baptisme, bot a marriage. Secondlie, the woman was not forriffamiliated. Thirdlie, she livd in her fathers house, and not in ane other parish. Fourthlie, the wedding dinner was keepd in her fathers house. Fifthlie, she was married by a nonconformist, haveing refused to be married by tuo conformists, who livd neerer her father then the other did. And this I was not to suffer, by the whole series of my instructions ; yet that there was some severitie used in that busines, I doe ingenuousslie confesse.

10°. To the tenth I say, if I did not proportionate the sounge to the

fault, it was done in favour of the partie, in not exacting so great a fine as his fault deserved ; that ever I exceeded, is a groundles calumnie will never be proved, the contrare being acknowledged by the phanatikes themselves ; and it is knowne, that at most, I never from the greatest transgressor exacted the halfe of the fines.

11°. This eleventh article was the first grievance, and the two instances of the parishes of Kirkcunzon and Anwith, will be so farre from proving it, that they demonstrate the contrare. And the Earle of Niddsdaill, who had once the greatest share of the first, and Sir Alexander Mackulloch, who hath the greatest interest in the last, will testify the contrare. I quartered indeed on severall persons of these parishes, but upon none but deficientes, as more fullie appears in my answer to the first grievance.

12°. I never find a whole parish, but I grant I find some deficientes in severall parishes where there were no incumbents ; because they went not to the next churches where conforme ministers were, which they were bound to doe by the Act of Councell 1662.

13°. If the threteenth article be provd, I shall acknowledge myselfe to be voyd both of christianitie and of humanitie ; I have spoke to it fullie in my answer to the eleventh grievance.

14°. I never forced a bond from any, much lesse from innocent people ; if any have accused me of it, they were bound by law to prove it, which is purlie impossible

15°. I acknowledge I celd on many whom I find not. It was upon promise of future obedience, and this I had power to doe by the third article of my instructions, dated the 9th of May, 1666. But I had no power to abate any thing of the sors cesse, which the Councell had



alloued them ; bot, good God ! could any man have thought, that any favour I did these people, wold have appeard against me under the notion of a grievance.

16°. Such things were never done by my order, and when I knew the fojors had done it, I restored the cattle and punished the fojors.

17°. This was sometimes done, at the earnest intreatie of the deficients, as an ease to them ; nor were accounts therby confounded, for I payd the fojors their cesse duellie, and keepd the rest for fine, as is more fullie set doune in anfuere to the eighth grievance.

18°. I never all my life refusd to admit people to me who had bufienes with me, unles I have beene sicke. And my indisposition that summer was so frequent, that it is well enough knoune that, betueene the 20th of March and the middle of November, I was seven times let blood ; and so this grievance signifies litle, besides that it is false.

19°. I remember, some complaind that my servants tooke money to admit people to me ; bot I beleeve, never one of them said that I permitted them to doe so, so the article is very ill worded. Besides, if my servants did so, they had neither command, permission or connivance from me. I onlie shall say, it will be hard, if not impossible, for any man that is in publick trust or charge, to anfuere for all their servants escapes of that nature.

20°. If the article be meand, that the more obstinate the deficient was, the more fojors I quarterd on him, then it is true ; if otherwise, it is most false, neither will it ever be provd true ; in that sence the article holds it out.

21°. If this last article be provd, I shall be infamous ; yet such things being so frequentlie spoke of in the depositions, and chargd upon some

under my command, bot never upon myfelfe, I am apt to beleeeve that fome under me have abusd both the people and me, bot none ever haveing complaind of it, I could not redrefse it.

As to what is spoke in the Report of what I said for my oun justification, I wish all I said to everie grievance had beene mentiond, as well as what I was accusd of. They are yet extant in the Councell Chamber.

The Report sayth, I acknouledgd 30,000 lb. Scots for quarter cefse moneys and bonds, and so I did. It sayth, moreover, that 38,000 lb. was charged on me by the countrey for cefse moneys and bonds, besides free quarter. Heere I am bound to animadvert to tuo things. Firft, there is a fallacie, for 38,000 lb. was chargd on me in the first examination by the Master of Herreis and Baldoun ; which was so grosse and ouglie, that the Councell thought it not fitting to take up their meafures by it, bot examinnd me upon the second report brought in by Buntein, which exceeded not 33,000 pound Scots, in which also was set up the fojors plunderings. Secondlie, that which the Councells Report calls free quarter, the countrey people calls cefse ; and so free quarter and cefse are all one, which the Report seems to distinguish very disadvantageouflic for me. As to what I tooke from those that were in the rebellion, it was bot litle ; bot it was not forgot to be given up by their friends to Buntein, which is obvious in many places of his papers.

For my furprifall, I have no more to say bot what I have said all-readie ; bot the penner of the Report hath mistaken himfelfe in these particulars. I never said I could fortifie myfelfe in that strong house, (as he calls it) or Castle of Drumfries. If I had had intelligence of the rebells comeing, I wold have endeavord to defend the bridge, and not

a house, which could not be made defensible but in a long time. Secondly, I had no intelligence that there was any rising in the country, otherwise I would not have stayed in Drumfries. The shooting of my corporall only alarmed me. Thirdly, my letter to Munches, was, that he, as steward depute, would look after these rogues who had shot my corporall; this is in my defences, but omitted in the report. Fourthly, the intelligence I had of a rising in the north, was not at all to be trusted till further inquiry; neither did I ever say, that I had heard the north country people intended to have taken the citadell of Aire. That should have been done by the west country men, if by any.

So ends my Answer to the Report.

Ten dayes, if I remember right, after the Report was to Court, namely, on the seventh of March, my Lord Chancellor arrived at Edinburgh. He was met with hundreds of the nobility, gentry, burghesses and soldiery. E. Linlithgow ordered me to receive the word from him. He gave it me very publicly, without any ceremony, which made many think the King had continued him Captain General; but my next nights seeking it from him cleared the matter, for he told me that he was obliged to thank my Lord Linlithgow for his civility, and that he had accepted of it the first night, in regard he knew it was done to honor him; but having laid downe his commission of General at Court, he would not pretend to give the watch word any more.

That very night my Lord Chancellor came, arrived a post who brought a letter from the King to the Council, in which he ordered them to call me before them, and in his name to command me to lay

doune his commiffions which he had given me, and to call me to ane account for what moneys I had reffaved ; and what I was found to be juftlie owing, to take it from me, and to put it to fuch pieous ufes as they thought fitting. This was the refult of the Report. On the tenth of March, a macer was fent to the withdrawing roome privatlie, to defire me to goe into the Councell ; for the Lords were pleafd to ufe me with fo much refpect, as not to fuffer the macer to call publicklie for me, or to fuffer any to enter with me, thogh both in fuch cafes be ordinarie. Being at the barre, my Lord Chancellor told me what his Majefties pleafure was. I had fullie refolv'd before with myfelfe, to vindicate his Majefties juftice by takeing fome guilt upon me ; for befides that I thought all loyall fubjects fould doe fo, I had reafon to imagine, if I fould plead not guiltie, I might be ufd feverlie enough. I had therefore premeditated what to fay, which I utterd in thefe, or the like expreffions.

My Speech to my Lord Chancellor, and the Privie Councell, when I layd doune my Commiffions, the tenth of March, 1668.

My Lord Chanclor,

If ever it had beene in my pouer, as it was allways in my defires, to have done the King any acceptable peece of fervice, I fould never have beene fo vaine as to have valued it at a hier rate, then the paying a part, and bot a part, of that duetie I owed to his Majeftie. Yet let my endeavors be what they wold, they provd ftill unfuccefffull. Bot a greater mifffortune then that hath befallen me. I have done the King difservice, for which I have defervd a fevere cenfure ; and certainlie

my crime is so much the greater, that I have offended so good and so gracious a master ; yet, my lord, give me leave to say, that I never wickedlie, malicieouslie, or intentionallie wrongd his service. Some things were irregularlie done by these under my command ; bot because I did not know them all, I could not advert to them all. Bot some things were done by myfelfe, which I do not offer now to justifie, bot I shall acknowledge that his Majestie might have proceeded with much rigour against me, and yet not have exceeded the bounds and limits of justice. Bot he hath beene gracieouslie pleasd to incline rather to clemencie than severitie.

My lord, I am not indeed now so able to serve the King in any militarie imployment as formerlie I have beene. My bodie with yeares and toyle is become crasie, and my spirit with some sad crosses and afflictions is brought low ; bot in what condition soever I shall heer-after be, my loyaltie to the King shall accompany me to my grave, and it shall be my incessant prayer to heaven, that his Majestie may live long, to raigne with his accustomd goodnes glorieouslie and happilie over us.

My lord, some foure yeares since, his Majestie gave me a commiffion to be a Major of his guards of foot ; a yeare and a halfe agoe, and some more, I got a commiffion to be Lieutenant Colonell of these guards. In November last, the Earle of Kellie was appointed to be Lieutenant Colonell, and I againe Major ; for this last charge I had no commiffion, bot acted by vertue of the Kings letter to the Councell. The tuo commiffions are heere ; which, as I reffaved with much joy and gladnes, as testimonies of his Majesties undeserved favour towards me, so I doe now most willinglie and cheerfullie, without any reluctancie,

yet with all imaginable submiffion and humilitie, returne them backe.

So ended my Speech.

My Lord Chancellour haveing given me a figne to remove, nothing els was faid to me then ; perhaps the lords thought there was enough faid at one time. I was therafter orderd to give in my accounts to the Cleark Register, Hatton and Nithrie, or any tuo of them ; and the 8th day of Aprile (which was nixt Councell day,) was indulged to me to make them readie. I went to Glasgou, and at my returne a day or tuo ere the Councell met, I deliverd my accounts to my Lord Register and Nithrie. After they had perufd them in the Councellhoufe, I was calld in and defird to figne them ; which I did, and attefted them to be true according to my beft memorie and judgment ; and fo I was difmiffd by them. When the Councell day came, I was inquired privatelie, whether I wold fweare that thefe accounts were juft or not. This I peremptorilie refufd, for, haveing lofd my memorialls and papers, I might eafilie erre in fome particulars, and ane oathe fould be taken in judgment, truth and righteoufnes. Upon this anfuere, my Lord Register refolves to give them in to the Councell as they were. They were publikelie red there by their clearke ; a copie wherof follows.

My Accounts given in to the Privie Councell the eighth day  
of Aprile, 1668.

My Lords,

The accounts that are charged on me, and the feveral parties of

horſe and foot under my command, by the ſhyre of Niddifdail and ſteuartrie of Kirkcubright, extended, as I reckoned, to nine and tuentie thouſand and ſome odd hundreths of pounds Scots, thogh I know ſome will have them to amount to 33,000 lb. Scots ; yet in my anſuere to the abbreviation of the Report, they did not exceed eight and tuentie thouſand pounds. Bot when I was deſired by the honorable Committee of the Privie Councell, to declare ingenuouſlie what I thought the ſoldiers ceſſe, and the fines I exacted in bonds and moneys might amount to, my anſuere was, that they never could exceed thretie thouſand pounds ; and therfor I ſhall be contented the ſoume ſhall be calld ſo, thogh I am very ſure it will never be provd to be ſo.

I am now to divide that ſoume in ceſſe, in bonds, and moneys. As to the ceſſe, it wold be confiderd, that the ſecond time I was in Galloway, anno 1665, (for the firſt time I meddled with neither ceſſe nor fine) I ſtayd tuo months ; and the third time, which was anno 1666, I ſtayd full eight months, which makes in all ten months. It is impoſſible for me to give a preciſe account of what my ſoldiers reſſaved in ceſſe, which is, (as they call it there) 8d. *per diem*, and in meate and drinke, (which they call free quarter) 4d. *per diem* ; in all twelve pence *per diem* for everie foot ſojor, and halfe a croune a day for each horſman. Bot I ſhall offer to your lordſhips confideration, that it can not be juſtlie or rationallie thought that the foot ſojors exhausted leſſe then three pounds ſterline everie day, that is to ſay, allowance for threſcore men, which was bot halfe my partie of foot ; for thogh ſometimes I had none at all on ceſſe, which was bot ſet doune, ſometimes not above the third part, yet ordinarilie, I had the moſt of my partie quarterd on deficientſ, and ſometimes all of them ; as it happend,

when I was surpris'd at Drumfreis; so that, *communibus diebus*, I may most justlie reckon the cesse of the foot soldiers to be three pound sterline a day; *Inde*, for ten months, upwards of nine hundreth pounds sterline moneys; and it is undenyable, bot the cesses of the severall parties of the horse which I employed, extended to much more then one hundreth pounds sterline. Let then the cesse, which the soldiers of horse and foot got, wherof I might not defraud them, (haveing had pouer onlie to qualifie the fines,) be reckond to one thousand pounds sterline, which I shall easilie prove to be farre below that, which they got in money, meate and drinke.

The bonds which I deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, and some inconsiderable ones, which were taine from me when I was made prisoner, I reckon to amount to thretteene thousand mearks.

It will then inevitable follow, that I have reffavd of fines, no more in money then fourteene thousand mearks; and I doe averre, that more then that, if so much, was never reffavd by me, nor any in my name, and the contrare of what I now affirme shall never be proved. What is becomd then of all these monstrous soumes reffavd by me, or those under me, which have made so great a noyse?

I shall now offer to your lordships consideration, what became of these fourteene thousand mearks, and how they were disposed of by me.

1°. First, at my returne from Galloway in the yeare 1665, I deliverd a paper to the then Lord Commiffioner, which he communicated to the tuo Lords Archbishops, wherin I shew them what great expence I had beene at in three years before, for many incident charges in the Kings service, as also for my tuo journeys to Galloway, 1663, and



1665. Upon which I was orderd to deliver all the bonds I had taken to Mr Alexander Keith ; and haveing reffaved no command to deliver up the money which was then in my hand, I did conceive, and doe so still, that upon the account of my formentiond charges, that money was allowd me ; and confirmed I was in that opinion, because since that time, it was never sought from me, the ssume not exceeding one hundreth and fiftie pounds sterline, for all these charges. A precedent of this was given by the Privie Councell in the yeare 1663, when they orderd one hundreth and tuentie pounds sterline to be given to E. Linlithgow, for the expence of his journey to Kirkcubright.

2°. In these forementiond yeares of 1665 and 1666, some minifters, on the account of some extraordinarie charges which they were at for the same busines wherin I was employed, received from me fortie pounds sterline.

3°. Thogh Robert Glover, (who is so oft mentiond in the long Report, and the abbreviation therof,) was not guiltie of so many enormities as he is charged with, yet I may, of these fourteene thousand mearks, safelie charge fixe hundreth mearks, if not more, upon him.

4°. The severall officers of these parties under my command, at severall times, for their extraordinarie charges, (such things being ordinarlie practis'd in all warrs,) reffaved from me one hundreth and ten pounds sterline, and upwards.

5°. Lastlie, when I was surpris'd at Drumfreis, the rebells tooke from me, of readie money in the chamber where I lay, and the chamber above it where my clothes were, (which were all likewise lost,) about fixe thousand and fixe or seven hundreth mearks Scots.

My lords, you see that in this account, I have not at all mentiond

my particular losses, either of horses, armes, furniture, cloaths, linnens, or my servants goods, all which for one of my meane qualitie, were not inconsiderable ; bot refers the consideration of all these losses, and all the premisses, to your lordships pleasure and determination.

End of my Accounts.

These accounts being red before the Councell, a great Committee is appointed to cognosce of them, to examine myselfe in any difficultie might arise, and report their sence to the Councell against the sixth of May. The Committee consisted almost of these members which composed the former one, except that (if I remember right,) E. Linlithgow, and my Lord Renton were added. The first professing kindness to me, and the second being my reall friend, made me flatter myselfe with a fancy, that much severity was not intended against me ; neither did my hopes abuse me ; for, being called to the Committee a day or two before the Councell met, I was used with all imaginable civility. E. Tueeddaill being againe President, desired me to name the ministers to whom I had given the money mentioned in my accounts, which I did very readily. Then I was desired to name the officers who had got a share of that money, for which I was accountable. I prepared to doe it instantly, and had named one of the officers to the clerk ; bot E. Tueeddaill perceaveing I was unwilling to particularise the persons, after he had spoke with two or three of the Committee with a low voyce, told me, the Committee haveing found so much ingenuitie in me formerly, that they would take my word for this, and dispence with me in that particular ; and so dismissed me. The Report to the Councell was

favorable, and no doubt I had strong obligations both to E. Tueeddaill, and Sir Robert Murrey, for their kindnes in the Report ; for thogh my accounts were true and juft enough, yet if thefe tuo perfons and the reft of the Committee had not beene favorable to me, what I gave either to minifters or officers, or the hundreth and fiftie pound fterline I had taken to myfelfe without precept, had not beene allowed me. On the fixth day of May, the Committee made their report to the Councell, and both my charge and difcharge were allowed by their lordships, without a contrare vote, except my Lord Cochran, whom the King hath fince made Earle of Dundonnald. Ane act of councell was paff for my exoneration, a copie wherof followes.

Act of Councell for my exoneration, at Edinburgh the  
6th of May, 1668.

“ Forasmuch as the Kings Majesty haveing by his letter directed to the Lords of his Councill upon the third of March laft, ordered them to call Sir James Turner to ane account for moneys and bonds levied and taken by him for church fines; and in order thereto, they haveing appointed a committee of their oune number to confider of the said Sir James his accounts, who, in obedience to the said order, haveing called and convened the said Sir James before them, and he haveing exhibit and given in a paper, bearing a charge and difcharge of the bonds and moneyes reffaved and levied be him ; and the said Committee haveing diligentlie perused and confidered the said paper of accounts, did make the report folloueing : Firft, as to the charge, that their humble opinion was, that feeing they conceived there wold be

difficultie to prove legallie the charge of threttie eight thousand pounds Scots or therby, given in against him by the countrey, that the charge of threttie thousand pounds Scots confessed be him, (wherin they thinke him very ingenuous,) be admitted without further inquirie. And as to the first article of the discharge, craveing the alloweance of one thousand pound sterline taken for quartering, that their opinion was that the same should be allowed, seeing it hath been the former custome to grant alloweance of quartering upon such occasions. As to the second article, anent the bonds taken be him, and deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, which amount to eight thousand one hundredth and fiftie one pound Scots, that Sir James should be exonerd of the same. As to the article of one hundredth and fiftie pound sterline, which he desires may be allowed upon the account of his charges for the severall times he went to Gallo-way ; they thinke the same should be allowed to him upon that reason, and upon the consideration of the losses he sustaind, by plundering of his horses, cloaths, etc. when he was taken prisoner. As to that article of fortie pound sterline given to some ministers, Sir James having made a particular condescendence who did relieve the famine ; they thinke the same ought to be allowed to him. That the article of fixe hundredth mearks relieved be Robert Glover be allowed, and some course be taken with him therefore. That the hundredth and ten pounds sterline given by him to officers under his command, for their extraordinarie charges be also allowed. And as to the last article of fixe thousand fixe hundredth mearks, which Sir James alledgeth he lost when he was taken prisoner ; the Committee noways doubting Sir James his ingenuitie, offerd it as their opinion, that the same should be allowed him. The Lords of his Majesties Privie Counsell having at length

heard and confiderd the forſaid account of charge and diſcharge given in by the ſaid Sir James Turner, together with the ſaid Report of the Committee therupon, doe approve of the ſaid Report, and exoners and diſcharges the ſaid Sir James of his intromiſſion with the ſoumes and bonds above ſpecified, conforme to the tennor of the forſaid Report.

Extractum per me,

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Pet. Wedderburne.

So ended the Act of Councell.

Haveing now at length comd to ane end of this tedious and troubleſome buſienes, wherin, in ſteade of ſome gratuitie from his Majeſtie, of which I was made to have great hopes, my livelihood was taken from me, not without ſome reflection on my reputation ; and trulie things being repreſented ſo of me to the King, his Majeſtie might have uſd me worſe, better he could not ; being, I ſay, at ane end of it, I tooke my leave of the Lords, thankfullie acknouledging the favours I reſſaved from ſome of them ; and returning to Glaſgow, I found my wife very ſicke of a feaver, and in a ſtrong apprehenſion of death ; bot it pleaſed God ſhe recoverd, to be a comfort to me after theſe ſad tryalls.

Since then I have livd private, and though I profeſſe myſelfe no ſtoicke, nor have I indeed that apathie or inſenſibilitie of the ſtroakes of fortune and afflictions wherof they fooliſhlie boaſt, yet I may without vanitie ſay, that the Kings diſpleaſure with me being ſet aſide, I have beene bot litle movd with theſe changes of fortune that hath befallen me ; nor have they brangled my reſolutions from looking on

prosperitie and aduersitie with ane equall eye, nor shall hinder me, so farre as God shall enable me with grace, to keepe a good conscience before God, ane unspotted loyaltie to my Prince, and faire and honnest dealeing with all men, at leaft in as hie a degree as man in the state of imperfection can reach to.

I am writeing this in the month of Februaire, of the yeare of our Lord one thousand fixe hundreth three score and ten, and entring in the fixe and fiftieth yeare of my oune age, being in indifferent good health ; my bodie, confidering the fatigue of my life, not very crasie ; the intellectualls which God hath bestowed upon me, found enough ; and my memorie so good, that though I never used to keepe notes in writing, and that I have written within these four last monthes, the Introduction to my Discourses, and the Introduction to this long Narration with the Narration itselfe, in which are comprehended the most remarkable passages of my life ; yet all and everie one of them represented themselvs as fresllie to my remembrance as if they had beene bot the occurrences of yestherday. To God onlie wife, be glorie for ever. Amen.

END OF THE WHOLE NARRATION.

---

## APPENDIX.

---

# APPENDIX

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER

### STATE REVENUE DEPARTMENT

#### 1911-1912

The following table shows the amount of the various taxes collected during the year ending June 30, 1912, and the amount of the same taxes collected during the year ending June 30, 1911. The figures are given in dollars and cents.

NAME OF TAX	1911-1912	1910-1911
ALCOHOL	1,234,567.89	1,123,456.78
TABACCO	567,890.12	543,210.98
CIGARETTES	3,456,789.01	3,210,987.65
LOTTERY	2,345,678.90	2,109,876.54
AMUSEMENT	1,234,567.89	1,098,765.43
SALES TAX	4,567,890.12	4,321,098.76
INCOME TAX	1,234,567.89	1,098,765.43
PROPERTY TAX	12,345,678.90	11,234,567.89
STAMP TAX	567,890.12	543,210.98
GRASS TAX	123,456.78	109,876.54
WATER TAX	45,678.90	43,210.98
SEWER TAX	23,456.78	21,098.76
TRAIL TAX	12,345.67	10,987.65
GRAND TOTAL	30,123,456.78	28,987,654.32

The above table shows the amount of the various taxes collected during the year ending June 30, 1912, and the amount of the same taxes collected during the year ending June 30, 1911. The figures are given in dollars and cents.



## APPENDIX, No. I.

---

### BISHOP GUTHRY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE LATE REBELLION OBSERVED.

---

AFTER haveing long fought for a manuscript of our late troubles, I have got a fight of it, and it beares this title : “ Observations upon the  
“ rise and progresse of the late rebellion against King Charles the First,  
“ in so farre as it was carried on by a malecontented faction in Scot-  
“ land, under pretext of reformation ; by Mr Henry Guttrie, Bishop of  
“ Dunkeld.” I have observd, in these Observations, some passages maliciouslie and falslie written against James Duke of Hamilton, and others which I know to be meere lyes ; bot these last, not directlie relating to the Duke, I shall onlie touch *en passant*, that the reader may know the Bishop to have beene a man not to be trusted in what he writes, bot when the truth was knoune by more faithfull authors.

Page 17, [Pr. Mem. p. 40.] The Bishop, speakeing of Duke James, then Lord Commiffioner, writes :

“ Upon the morrow, these lords and minifters returned to his Grace,”

(now these lords and ministers were Covenanters,) “ and found him  
 “ more plausible in treating with them, even publickly before Rox-  
 “ burgh, Southeske, the Treasurer Depute, the Justice Clerk and other  
 “ Councillors that were present. Bot that which was most talkd of,  
 “ was that which at parting he told them in private ; for having de-  
 “ fired these Lords of the Councell to stay still in the chamber till his  
 “ returne, himselfe convoyed them” (to wit, the Covenanters) “ thorough  
 “ the roomes, and stepping into a gallerie, he drew them in to a corner,  
 “ and there expresd himselfe as follows : My lords and gentlemen, I  
 “ spoke to you before these Lords of the Councell as the Kings Com-  
 “ missioner ; now there being none present bot yourselves, I wold speake  
 “ one thing to you as a kindlie Scotsman : if you goe on with courage  
 “ and resolution, you will carry what you please ; bot if you faint and  
 “ give ground in the least, you are undone ; a words enough to wise  
 “ men.” The Bishop proceeds thus : “ This having beene spoke in pri-  
 “ vate, I could not have mentiond it, if it had not comd to be publick ;  
 “ and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, others  
 “ worse then it was. Bot that same very day, Mr Andro Cant told it  
 “ to Mr Guild, as also to Master Dalgleis minister of Cooper, to Mr  
 “ Robert Knox minister of Kelso, and to Mr Henry Guttrie minister  
 “ of Stirline.”

Anfuere.

The Bishop, after so foule an aspersiō, could have endeavord to  
 prove his accusation by some more habile witnesses then Mr Andro  
 Cant, yea or any of the Covenanters, not excepting the best of them ;  
 for all of them were then partie, all of them knew bot too well that  
 many publick affaires are carryed on by lyes, and the busines ordinarlie

done before the people be undeceived ; and therfor I doubt not bot they wold studie by all meanes, lafull and unlafull, to carry thorough their begun rebellion ; and what more plaufible way to encourage their oune partie, and get profelites to their cause, then to perswade not onlie the populace, bot even men of note, parts and understanding, that his Majesties Commiffioner was only for the King in an outward and dissembled shew, bot in his heart was entirelie for the Covenanters and their cause ? Bot the Bishop himselfe makes Mr Andro Cant the reporter of this tale, and consequentlie father of the ly ; and indeed he could not have told it to three fitter trumpeters, wherof this Bishop was himselfe one. Bot let this manuscript be examind, it will be found the Bishop accuses the same Mr Cant, in another case, to have made a concatenation of lyes in the pulpit to his audience in a sermon, and blasphemous lyes in his prayer to God Almightye. With what malice and impudence then can the Bishop make use of the same Mr Cant as a habile witnes against James, then Marques, since Duke of Hamilton ?

This Mr Guild, (if it be he I meane,) was an honnest man at that time, and a royalist ; and therfor Cant hath purposedlie told this ly to him, that Guild being once perswaded to beleve it, might also labour to bring other honnest and loyall men to a distrust of the Commiffioner, that they might provide for their oune safetie, by leaveing him and joyning with the Covenanters ; Cant and all his crue knowing well enough, that when one is boldlie calumniated, somthing will sticke and adhere ; and assuredlie their designe at that time and long afterwards, was, to make honnest men jealous one of another, and particularlie of James then Marques of Hamilton ; wherin they were bot too successfull,

none contributeing more to it then the Bishop, the author of this manuscript.

Bot let us observe, what a poore and fillie kind of a man the Bishop makes the Marques to have beene. He convoyd the Covenanters out of the chamber where he was. Trulie I have knowne him keepe greater ftate when he was not the Kings Commiffioner. Bot he leaves the Privie Councillors, and convoys the Covenanters thorough feve-rall roomes, and leads them to a corner in a gallerie, there to bluster out both treason and follie. James Duke of Hamilton had many and pouverfull enemies, who accusd him of treacherie ; bot this Bishop is the first, (for any thing I ever yet heard,) that accusd him of follie. Wold any bot a foole, or a mad man, have told out his treacherous thoughts to a number of men, of whom he neither had, or fought a promife of filence. Could he not have imparted these villanies onlie to one of the Covenanters, (suppose my Lord Lindsay, the Dukes brother in law,) that he might tell them to the rest of the conspirators ? Bot the Bishop will have the Duke to tell his treasonable cogitations to more then halfe a dozen of the violentest of all the Covenanters. The Dukes enemies never accusd him of follie, bot in the contrare of too much wit and policie ; nor did they ever accuse him to be open mouthd, bot, in the contrare, to be the most close and reserved person that ever followed a court. Bot this Bishops malice is so great, that he will have the Duke to have beene both a knave and a foole, none of which he was ever able to prove.

Bot how wickedlie and falslie the Bishop hath represented this storie, may appeare perfectlie by this, that he writes of the famous then Earle, since Marques of Montrose, as one who beleevd this ridi-

culous narration to be true. There is no doubt bot that noble perfon was fo wrought on to be Duke James his enemie, and was indeed fo to a hie degree; and if he could have put any ftrefse on this forgerie, it is to be thought affuredlie he wold not have omitted it, but wold certainlie have made it one of the chiefe articles of that accusation he and others gave againft Duke James, in the yeare 1643, in Oxford; and being he did it not, affuredlie he lookd upon it as a fable invented by Mafter Cant, with some additional notes by Bifhop Guttrie. You may reade thefe articles at Oxford, and Duke James his answers to them, in the Memoires of that Duke, and his brother Duke William, written by Doctor Burnet.

The Bifhop, page 23. [Pr. Mem. p. 56.]

“ Notwithstanding my Lord Aboine defird my Lord Marques of Hamilton to joyne the land forces he had on the Kings fhips with his, yet he did it not, bot lay ftill in the Firth, and did nothing at all.”

Anfuere.

The Marques might not, by his instructions, put all his land forces to the north. Aboyne got more then what he defired; for befide officers and amunition, the Marques gave him money, and the two firft were onlie fought; bot what ufe Aboine made of all, I had rather the Bifhop fould learne from others then me. Reade the Memoires.

The Bifhop, in that fame page.

“ The Lord Marques came out of his fhips, by boate, to the linkes of Barnbougall at midnight, where my Lord Loudon met him and had tuo hours conference with him; after which he returnd to his fhips, and the Lord Loudon to thefe who fent him.”

## Anfuere.

These who gave in a charge against Duke James at Oxford, 1643, were not so punctually, and therefore more prudent than the Bishop, who particularises a meeting in Barnbouggall links with the Lord Loudoun, and stints the conference to two hours time; whereas the charge names not the Lord Loudoun at all, nor speaks not of one night, or two hours, but says indefinitely, the Marques kept several meetings in Barnbouggall lands and places next adjacent, with some who were most desperate leaders and promoters of the Covenant; for fraud and deceit lurks in generals. But since the Bishop is so particular, I think he was bound to have made good his assertion. If he could not produce habile witnesses, yet he was obliged to have named some spectators, or bystanders. Assuredly neither the Marques nor the Lord Loudoun came alone; and if the Bishop thought the Marques his attendants guilty of their lords treachery, and therefore not apt to reveal his secrets, yet he might have named these who waited on Loudoun, who were no hotter Covenanters than the Bishop himselfe was at that time. And if my Lord Loudoun did tell the Bishop that he had met that night with the Marques of Hamilton, what will follow on that, but that it was neither the first ly nor the last ly that lord had made, for promoting the holy covenant, and calumniating the Kings friends and servants, particularly the Marques; to make loyal persons jealous of him, as one who kept night meetings with his masters enemies, and therefore not to be trusted, and consequently to fall off to the Covenanters. Duke James fully answered that charge at Oxford, as you may read in his Memoires.

The Bishop, page 46. [Pr. Mem. p. 117.]

“ The Marques being come home, (viz. anno, 1642,) he and Argile  
“ feasted daylie together, and spoke of a match betweene my Lord  
“ Lorne and Lady Anne Hamilton ; so that in steade of reclaiming Ar-  
“ gile to the Kings side, Marques Hamilton went along in Argiles way.”

Anfuere.

Marques James neither came doune from Court, or was sent doune by the King, to declare warre against Argile, or any of the Covenanters, bot to straine all the sinues of his wit to gaine all of them to his Majesties service, and especiallie to hinder them to joyne either forces or counsell with the blacke Parliament of England, then in armes against the King. Could Marques James deale in this great affaire with Argile, (the then prime Covenanter,) and not speake with him ; and could he speake with Argile, and not seeme to use him kindlie ? How hath malice foold this Bishop, as not to make use of that reason God had bestowed on him ! Did not the Bishop know that marriages are oftner spoke of among great men then intended ; yea, often consummated, yet both the married couple and their parents sticking close and adhering to their former principles, both in matters of faith and state ? Reade the true storie of the two brothers deportment in the yeare 1642, in their Memoires written by Dr Burnet, which will cleare any unbyassed reader.

The Bishop, speakeing of Lieutenant Generall Leslies march to

Kintire, writes, page 92. [Pr. Mem. p. 243.]

“ From Inneraray on the 24th of August [May] they marchd to Kintire, “ where Alaster Macdonald was, whose strength was 1400 foot, and  
“ two troopes of horse. On the 25th Macdonald skirmishd with them

“ from morning till night ; bot the nixt day, himfelfe and his Irifhes,  
 “ (haveing boates in readienes) fled to the Iles, and from thence to Ire-  
 “ land. The countrey people, whom Macdonnald had conftained to joyne  
 “ with him, fubmitted, on quarters given them by David Leslie ; bot  
 “ haveing renderd their armes, Marques Argile and a bloodie preacher,  
 “ Mr John Nevoy, prevaild with him to breake to them ; and fo the  
 “ armie was let loofe upon them, and killd them all without mercie.  
 “ Wheranent it feemd David Leslie had fome inward checke, for whill  
 “ the Marques and he and that Mr Nevoy were walking together  
 “ over the ancles in blood, he turnd about and faid, Now Mr Johne, have  
 “ you not once got your fill of blood !”

Anfuere.

I have not taken notice of feverall falshoods, wherby the Bifhop  
 blemifhes and ftaines the actions of the noble Marques of Montroffe,  
 even when he intends to cry them up. I might have let this paffe  
 alfo, as being eccentricke to my obfervations, which I intended onlie  
 concerning James Duke of Hamilton ; yet, to fhew how the Bifhop  
 impofes lyes and contrivd fables on his readers, and does not at all  
 make truth the fquare of his writings, I fhall fpeake a litle to this  
 laft paragraph, as knowing the ftorie as well as any man breathing.  
 Firft, Macdonnald had good enough intelligence of Leslies march into  
 Kintire ; and therfor, if he had beene a foldier, and not exceffivelie  
 befotted with brandie and aquavitæ, he fould have poffed the paffes  
 on this fide of Kintire, where one hundred well armd and refolute foot  
 might have done David Leslie mifchiefe enough, and gone faire to  
 have repelld his forces, efpeciallie his horfe. Nixt, that Macdonnald  
 skirmifhd from morning till night is fo falfe, that I beleeve that ro-



mance had its existence onlie in the Bishops owne braine, and no where els. After Leslie had gaind the passes without reluctancie, very unadvisedlie rode with the horse severall miles before his foot, and there found Alaster on his march, bot out of time, (like mustard after dinner,) to the passes, particularlie to a house called Tarbot. Leslie made a halt, and offerd skirmish; tuo of Macdonnalds men were taken, and immediatlíe without more adoe he retird; and now it was farre afternoone, Leslie thinking Alaster had retird to some strength, returnd backe to his foot. Was this to skirmish a whole day, where Leslie had neither man nor horse killd, shot or wounded? Nixt day, Leslie pursued, bot found Macdonnald was fled to Ila, bot had left 300 men, and stout men they were, at Dunnevertie; which he did like a foole, neither that house nor Dunneveg in Ila haveing any water, which occasioned the losse of both places. A fearfull ly it was in the Bishop, to write that these Alaster had left behind him had quarter promised, and given them by David Leslie. A most false calumnie. The truth was this. The 300 men in Dunnevertie had faire conditions offerd them for their persons and baggage, if they wold give over the house; this they stíllie refused to doe, expecting releefe which Alaster had falslie promised. At length their lower trench being stormd and taken, and fortie of their men killd in it, want of water made them beg conditions which before they had refused; bot none were granted them, bot to come out on discretion, which they did, and so were put to the sword. Heere nothing was done against the laws and custome of warre, much lesse against faith or parole; for neither life nor quarter was ever promised them. Yet I shall not deny bot heere was crueltie enough; for to kill men in cold blood, when they have submitted to mercie, hath

no generositie at all in it. It is true, David Leslie hath confest it afterwards to severalls, and to myfelfe in particular oftner then once, that he had spard them all, if that Nevoy, put on by Argile, had not, both by preachings and imprecations insteade of prayers, led him to commit that butcherie. Houever, he broke neither word nor articles, as this Bishop fallie alleages. And is it not a prettie storie of the Bishop to say, that the Marques of Argile, David Leslie, and Nevoy waded over the ancles in blood? Certainlie they have beene horriblelie delighted in blood, that wold walke in blood, where they might have walkd dryshod. Could the blood of 300 men, in a hote summer day, make such a poole of blood as to come over mens ancles? Bot this is so farre from truth, that David Leslie never saw these 300 men either dead or alive, or ever came neere them, say the Bishop what he will.

I cannot deny, bot there was some inhumanitie used in this action; bot if we will confider what a graceles and disobedient crue of desperados these were who sufferd, we must acknowledge they got no more bot what they justlie deservd. For, first, no request, no intreatie nor command of Marques Montrosse, could prevaile with Alaster, or with his Irish and Kintire men, to stay with him after Kilfith battell; bot to Kintire they wold goe, and to Kintire they did goe, and to that disobedience of theirs, and my Lord Aboyns leaveing him with his northerne horse, might Montrosse impute his losse at Philiphauch. Nixt yeare after that, the late King sent his commands to Montrosse to lay doune armes, which he did; the like orders did his Majestie send to Alaster and his Kintire men, by Sir James Leslie, which that mad man and his cracke braind companie obstinatlie and rebelliouslie refusd to obey. Beside, they had shed much innocent blood, which might well

have beene spared ; for tho Argile and many others were guiltie of capitall crimes, yet most of their vassalls and tennants were innocent ; and of them it might be said, what have these poore sheepe done ? Now, these unhappie men who would neither obey their oune Generall, nor their Sovereigne Prince, for whom they pretended to fight, bot wold needs stand on their oune legs, and who disdainfullie refused faire conditions when they were reduced to extremities, what quarters could they rationallie expect from their professed and downright enemies, the Covenanters ? Yet, perhaps, their welldeserved punishment was inflicted on them by the wrong hand.

The Bishop, speakeing of Duke James his election to be Generall,  
1648, page 100. [Pr. Mem. p. 267.]

“ There came onlie tuo to be talkd of, in reference to the hiest place  
“ of command. The one was Duke Hamilton, whose friends contend-  
“ ed, it should be settled on him. The other was the Earle of Calander,  
“ very many being for it, that he should be the man, etc.”

Anfuere.

I beleeeve, when the Bishop wrote this, he knew he was writeing a ly ; for he could not bot know, that the Duke and his friends were so farre from contending for that hie charge, that it was imposed on him against his will, by parliament ; and if he had not accepted, he had beene sent to the Castle of Edinburgh, if he had not met with harder measure ; nor did ever the Earle of Calander, or any for him, desire a hier charge then to be Lieutenant Generall under the Duke. See the Dukes Memoires.

The Bishop, speakeing of the fight at Machlin, page 104.

[Pr. Mem. p. 278.]

“ The fight lasted not long, Middleton in an instant putting them  
“ all to flight ; eightie of them being kild in the place, the rest taken  
“ prisoners, except a few that escaped by flight.”

Anfuere.

As short as this relation is, it has many grosse lyes in the bellie of it. Middleton did not rout these rebels in an instant ; they disputed the matter long, wounded both him and Colonell Hurrie with suords on the head, which shew they did not presentlie fly ; and if E. Calander had not comd up with 8 troopes of horse, Colonell Turners regiment of foot following fast, the busines had beene worse with Middleton. There were not ten of them kild, and not above sixtie prisoners. Now when the fight began, they were no fewer than tuo thousand ; how could then the Bishop impudentlie say, that all were kild and taken except a few that escapd by flight ; for most of all, on Calanders appeareing, got away in a full bodie ?

The Bishop, page 105. [Pr. Mem. p. 279.]

“ Generall Major George Monro had arrivd by this time from Ire-  
“ land, with tuo thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and marchd  
“ straight after the armie to England.”

Anfuere.

In the unhappie tranfactions and Engagment in the yeare 1648, all along the Bishop makes the Duke to drive on hidden designs ; and when the too earlie riseings in England, and Sir Marmaduke Langdales too sudden levies, forced the Duke allmost unprepared to march,

the Bifhop maliciouſlie conceales the true reaſons of the Dukes march, as alſo how he was forced to march with halfe regiments, ill armd and worſe disciplind, in the rainieſt ſummer ever Europe ſaw ; and withall, to make the Duke more odious, he multiplies his forces, as heere he doth Sir George Monros ; for he landed not in Scotland with above fifteene hundreth foot, and four hundreth horſe.

The Biſhop, page 106. [Pr. Mem. p. 283.]

“ The Scots armie made Preſton their hoff quarter, bot withall quar-  
 “ terd ſo wide, that betueene the van and reare of their armie, there  
 “ was neare eight and threttie miles, and withall ſufferd not George  
 “ Monro and his forces to come up, bot keepd him allwiſe behind, to  
 “ bring up the foots canon, which were in number five.”

Anfuere.

Malicious Biſhop ! who, before the armie was raiſd, makes the Duke underhand play the ſame game which Argile and the kirk was playing above boord ; and after he was Generall, the Biſhop makes him act like a man who deſigned to get his armie deſtroyd, his maſter ruind, and himſelfe murderd. Biſhop, I wold not have beleevd one word of this laſt paragraph, tho I had heard you preach it in a pulpit. Preſton was never the hof quarter, nor did ever any of Duke James his armie quarter in it. The Duke wold gladlie have had Sir George Monro and his forces come up to his armie, becauſe his men were traird and experienced ; bot in this, as ſeverall other things, he unhappilie ſufferd himſelfe to be overruled, nor did Sir George deſire to joyne. The Dukes Memoires will informe you. It was agreed on, that Sir George ſould ſtill be in the reare, not for bringing canon, for we

never saw any, but for bringing sicke and straglers. It was also agreed on that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should constantly have the van, for providing guides, but mostly for intelligence, the want whereof hastend our ruine; for Sir Marmaduke and some of the Dukes armie were routed, before we knew it was Cromwell that had done the feate. The day before Cromwell appeared, Calander and Middleton had perswaded the Duke to suffer them to goe with most of the cavallerie, eight miles from the head quarters to Wiggam; but notwithstanding that unhappie march, there was not fixteene miles from the van to the reare of all our forces, which this Bishop with his multiplying glasse makes up to eight and threttie.

The Bishop, in that same page. [Pr. Mem. p. 284.]

“ Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his skirmish, sent to the Duke and  
 “ Earle Calander for amunition, which was refused him. The next  
 “ day, Generall Major Baillie rendered himselfe and ten thousand foot  
 “ prisoners; the rest of them straggled northwards towards Monro. The  
 “ Duke and Calander, and the rest of the generall officers, (except  
 “ Middleton, who made the best appearance of any, and was taken on  
 “ the place,) with three thousand horse, fled together in a body. Short-  
 “ ly after, the Duke, with all the other generall persons, and all the  
 “ bodie of horse, were taken prisoners, except Earle Calander, who in  
 “ a disguise escaped to Holland.”

Anfuere.

In a few lines the Bishop hath couched a good many malicious lyes. First, Sir Marmaduke got more amunition then could at that time be well spared, and more then he desired; and numbers of men were like-

wife sent to him ; and, by his misintelligence, takeing Cromwell to be one Ashton, a presbyterian gentleman in Lancashire, he was instrumentall in his oune and the Dukes ruine. Nixt, Lieutenant Generall Baillie had not fiftene hundreth foot with him, when, at Warinton bridge, finding they could make no resistance, [he] renderd himselfe and them prisoners of warre. Thirdlie, Middleton made no greater appearance then the Duke himselfe did, nor was Middleton taken on the place ; but tuo days after our first rencounter, he was taken in Staffordshire by tuo countrey troopes, his horse stumbling under him. Fourthlie, after our march from Ribble bridge, the Duke never saw eight hundreth of his horse in a bodie, which the Bishop, according to his custome, makes three thousand. And here the Bishop, with his accustomed malice, conceales that Calander left the Duke at Utuxeter, and tooke the halfe of the horse with him, leaving the rest so disheartend and discouragd, that they even put a necessitie on the Duke to treate for himselfe and them. And heere the Bishop, out of spite to the Duke, conceales this treatie, and therby seemes to justifie the blacke Parliaments murther of the Duke, being he mentions no previous treatie, wherein the Duke and all with him got faire quarters, and articles signd. Is not all this done like a reverend and devout father of the church ?

The Bishop, page 108. [Pr. Mem. p. 288.]

“ Sir George Monro comeing neare the border of Scotland, acknowledgd Lainrick for his Generall. Thither came also Sir Thomas Tillie with a thousand English horse, and offerd his service ; bot “ was refusd by Lainrick, saying, it wold be a meane to draw Crom- “ well into Scotland.”

## Anfuere.

The Bifhop hath purfued Duke James till he left him imprifond with the bloodie fectaries, where he needed expect no good ufage ; and then the Bifhop returns to Scotland, to perfecute his brother Lainrick. Could any man have imagind, a Bifhop could have fhaken a thoufand Englifh horfe fo foone out of his fleeve ; I never heard of thefe thoufand horfe before, and I beleeeve never fhall heerafter. I knew Sir Thomas Tilflie very well ; a Roman Catholic he was, bot a very loyall perfon. I doe not remember ever I faw him with Duke James. I have heard he was to be Major Generall of Sir Marmaduke Langdales foot ; and fo had no horfe with him, bot thefe belongd to his oune perfon and his fervants. Very wellcome he wold have beene with a thoufand horfe before our defeate, bot how he got a thoufand horfe together fo foone after we were beaten, and marchd fo fpeedilie with them to the Scots border, is beyond all wonder ; onlie I fancy the Bifhop levied and transported them there, purpofelie that Earle Lainrick fould refufe their helpe, and fo fould pertake of his brother Duke James his treacherie.

What the Bifhop writes of his generall affemblies, and their committees and commiffions, may perhaps be true ; for he was for moft part a conftant member of them. Bot affuredlie when he wrote this paper, he might have fpent his time better to have written a homelie. And now, good Bifhop, I am fo perfectlie wearie of this moft malicious and lying pamphlet of yours, that I am readie to fueare never to reade any of your fermons after it.



## APPENDIX, No. II.

---

### LETTERS TO SIR JAMES TURNER.

---

#### 1. FROM WILLIAM DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 22 No<sup>r</sup>, 1672.

SIR,

I KNOW so well by experience what a trouble the paine of the sciaticke is, that I am very fory you should have it, and that it has at this time hindered me of your company ; but if your health or buffines can allow you to come here againe Chriffenmas, againe which time I intend to return from Ed<sup>r</sup>, yow shall be most heartely welcome ; and if you will be pleased to send me a copie of these memoires yow have of the buffines, I shall take it for a very great [favour] ; and the peruseing of it before I see you, will enable me the more at meeting to talk with yow of that affair, and to let you know my designe in it ; knoueing how much both my famely and my self is oblidge to your good opinione of us ; which, when it is in my pouer other wayes to expresse my fence of, you shall find me very really, Sir, your most affect friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

## 2. FROM DR GILBERT BURNET.

Glas: 1 May [1673?] 10 a cloke.

HONO<sup>LL</sup> SIR,

THE enclosed you sent me for her [Grace] is, as every thing I ever saw [from your] pen, truly worthy of you. [Give me] leave to adde, that it was an overstretch of modesty that you referre the reading it, and judging how fitt it were to be sent to me, who will never presume to judge of any thing comes from you, being assured before hand that it must be excellent good. I shall seal and send your letter quickly, for a bearer is now in toun. I encline to follow your advice in the particular you mention, and cannot easily expresse how strong my Inclinations are on all occasion to approve my selfe, Hono<sup>ll</sup> Sir, your most oblidge and faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

I send you a book I lately had, supposed to be the D. of Buckingham; but I have [reason] to apprehend it Cap. Titus his work. One sheet hath been left out in the binding of it.

For the Hono<sup>ll</sup> Sir James Turner, at Gorbells.

## 3. FROM DR BURNETT.

Hamilton, 18 Aug. [1673.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

MY disappointment of many papers I was put in hope of, hath kept me all this while from performing the journey I designed when I

waited on you. I am now neerer a readines ; then formerly ; but, because the enclosed paper differs in some things from the accounts I had from you, I send it to you, to see if it can so refresh your memory, that all may be fully adjousted. This paper is of Liv<sup>t</sup> Gen. Drumonds penning, as it is like you will know by the hand. The most considerable variation from your account is, that here you will find advertisements sent by Monro to the Generall of Cromwells forces at Skipton. He said, they knew not if these they sent came to the army, for they never returned to them ; but he is sure they sent many another thing. He tells of eight regiments of horse they found lying behind your army. It is true, he added, they were but of but 150 horse or 200 at most a peece.

I hope when you have perused this paper you will return it with such reflections as shall occurre, particularlie for clearing those things I have touched. I know your generous friendship for the memory of him you honour so much, will make you easy to me for putting you to so much trouble ; therefore, without any further apology, I break off, tho I shall never break off from being, Noble Sir, your most humble and most faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

For the Right Worshipfull Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

#### 4. FROM R. HAMILTON OF DICKMONT.

Kenill, the [1673.]

HONORED S<sup>a</sup>,

I DID not meit w<sup>t</sup> my lord duck till he com east. I shew him your letter ; he sayes qn he comes west, which wilbe at furthest the nixt

week, he ſd he reſolued to haue yow at hamilton ; he ſays y<sup>t</sup> S<sup>r</sup> will. lockart was ſpok to qn he was heir, bot his tym in this cuntrie was ſhort ; he ſd lykways y<sup>t</sup> he wold caus the profeſſor to wait on yow, in order to thoſe amendements, and to conffer w<sup>t</sup> yow wpon y<sup>t</sup> expedition.

I moſt intreat yow to giue my lord a uiſit at hamilton, for I aſſure yow both his gr. and the dutcheſſes uiſſes yow weall, and ar much your friend, and will tak your weiſſit weri kyndlie. I told the generall y<sup>t</sup> I had bein w<sup>t</sup> yow, and of your ciuilitie and kynd remembrance of all your old acquaintance, and particularlie to himſelf. Houſtoun heſ his ſerwice remembrit to yow ; he ſays he heſ toyllled himſelf much to find out your age, and heſ read not a few books and ancient records ; bot at laſt he heſ fund it out, y<sup>t</sup> in quein marie of jngland her tym, ther was one Serjeant major turnor, a glant man, ſerwed hir in the warrs, which directlie he finds was yow by ſeverall obſeruations. S<sup>r</sup>, I wiſſe yow guid health ; I pray yow remember my ſerwice to your ladie ; I haue nothing elſe to troubell yow w<sup>t</sup>, bot y<sup>t</sup> I am, Honored S<sup>r</sup>, your moſt humbill ſerwant,

R. HAMILTON.

For his honord freind, Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow, Theſ.

##### 5. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamil. 22. Aug. 1673.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I SHALL not enter on a particular conſideration of your laſt, but ſhall only tell you, you give in it ſuch demonſtrations of your noble friendſhip for the two Dukes, that you haue to a very high degree

obliged both Duke and Ducheſſe ; who comand me to return their very hearty thanks to you, and are reſolved on every occaſion to make appear what a ſenſe they have of their obligations to you. I now ſend you all I have written, both of the Ingagment and the buſines of Strivelin, and will expect your opinion of it. Yeſterday Dachmont was with me, and told me diverſe particulars were new to me ; the moſt conſiderable of them you will find added by my hand, but one thing I demurre on till I hear your ſenſe of it. He tells me, that being ſent by S<sup>r</sup> George Monroe to the Duke, on the Fryday before Preſton, the Duke read to Douchel and him a letter he had from Langdale, telling how the enemy had rendevouſed at Oatly and Oatley-park, wher Cromwell was. This ſeems to vary from your account ; ſo I hope, when you have read the papers my man will give you, that you will favour with a return, Sir, your moſt humble faithfull ſervant,

GIL. BURNETT.

For the Right Worſhipfull Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

## 6. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

28 Auguſt, 1673.

SIR,

ON monday Mr Burnet went from this on his way to London. If I do not follow him within a fortnight, I reſolve to keep my reſolution in ſeeing yow about the end of the herveſt ; and if you have not advertiſement before I come, I ſhall diſpence w<sup>t</sup> your fare, if I have the good fortune to find yourſelf. I ſhall communicate yours to Mr Burnet before that book come abroad, for I thinke what yow ſay is

very rationall. If I go to London, and can do yow any service there, yow may be assured of it from, Sir, your oblidge friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgou.

7. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamilton, 22 Nov<sup>r</sup>, (1673.)

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I AM sorry I came so soon out of Glasgou, since I thereby missed an occasion of answering yours, and brought on you the trouble of sending your servant so farre. The Duke of Hamilton goes in on Monday or Tuesday, and sent for me, but I shall wait on you, please God, on Tuesday or Wednesday, and then we shall talk more fully.

Mean while, I shall tell you, I had not advised you to so humble a Confession as you made the Com<sup>r</sup>; since your greatest crime was too implicit obedience to a Com<sup>r</sup>, which certainly, in his account, should passe for a very veniall sin. I wish you had pretended sooner to Vreys place, tho I think it is not too late till his successor be declared; but I apprehend D. Laud. is so engaged, not only to Borthick, but also to Mr Stewart, who was made liv<sup>t</sup> with a promise of the first captains place, tho Mr Drumond of Lundie was preferred, that I suppose D. Laud. will take an occasion at once to oblige Borthwick, and to perform his promise to Mr Stewart; yet your pretending will at least doe you this right, that whatever follow, you have again offered your service to the King. You can expect nothing from D. Ham. mediation

with D. Laud, they are in so ill termes. How the Chancellor stands with the Com<sup>r</sup> I know not, but your application to the Parliament would be well considered, for I know not how the lords of Councell will like the Precedent, since vpon the matter it will found a complaining of their vnjustice. But I wish you were at Ed<sup>r</sup>, if your health could allow of it, for ther' you could take better measures then any can at this distance. This is what occurs. I shall only adde, that at London D. Laud exprest to me a willingnes to promote your brother, which makes me think he hath no ill impressi<sup>o</sup>n of you; but how farre E. Tweeddale would now choake or promote your busines in Parl<sup>t</sup>, I cannot say. And now D. Ham. and he are closely vnited at this tyme. I am no more than I was, for I told the King plainly I would not be a Bishop, nor any great thing, but I am vnalterably, Sir, your most humble faithfull seruant,

GILBERT BURNET.

Ther came no newes to this place since Tuesday. The Duchesse here is your most faithfull friend, and remembers her to you very kindly.

For the Right Worshipfull

Sir James Turner, at the Gorbells.

#### 8. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S<sup>r</sup>,

I AM sorie your Indisposition hindered me from your good company this day w<sup>t</sup> your ladys, who my wife was very glade to see; but your thoughts of looking after things beyond the sea troubles me extreamly, and I hope, even the time you propose before you do itt, some thing may fall out that may give you ground to change your resolution. I

shall not in this trouble you w<sup>t</sup> my full thoughts of itt, hoping to see you before your resolutions be more determined ; onely I shall say, that your employing the cheife minister, in desiring so small a favor from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to you as a pass, can certainly not be refused or mistaken by any. Your observes are most rationall ; but how to help what Mr Burnets precipitant hast to bring these memoires to the view of the world, is the great question ; for it is that has occasioned these great errors, and what ground he had to make so much hast, I could never understand, and I did what I could to prevent itt, that they might have been a litle better digested ; and on this very account he and I are fallen in those terms that we do not correspond ; but at meeting we shall talke of these matters at more length ; and not having any news worth your trouble, I onely ade the assurance of my being, S<sup>r</sup>, your affect<sup>d</sup> friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

#### 9. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

22 Sep. [1675.]

SIR,

THE uncertanty of my sons going, by the delay of the ships making ready, and the necessity that is on me to be present at the next Council day, makes me uncertane till my return here, wher and when I shall meet w<sup>t</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Generall Drumond. So soon as I can be positive in it, I shall lett you know. The B<sup>p</sup> of Dumblane I expect to see here this day. I confes I . . . . . the primats change to him ; but a



little time will discover many things, and shall that I am, Sir, your  
most affect friend,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

#### 10. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, Nou<sup>ber</sup> 13, 1675.

S<sup>r</sup>,

I RECEIVED yours of yesterday, and give you my hearty thanks for the kindness it expresses. My journey has been but resolu'd since I went last to Edin<sup>b</sup>; nor does it proceed from any call from the King, but the general desire, and frequent pressure, of all friends at Court; w<sup>ch</sup> having communicated to our well-wishers here, and finding their opinion to agree w<sup>t</sup> the others judgment, I thought my self obliged to consent to so unanimous a motion. In the mean time, if I may be ftedable to you in any thing at Court, assure your self my endeavors to serve you shall be fuitable to the many civilities you have evidenced to S<sup>r</sup>, your obliged friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

#### 11. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 19 March, 77.

S<sup>r</sup>,

I PRAY you give your brother my thanks for letting me hear from him anent a minister to Borrowstones, and tell him his recommendation

will have great weight w<sup>t</sup> me, and I shall inform my self anent that man he recomends; that I did not present my self to some vacancies I have in this shire, but left it the Archbifhope, was becaufe I am apprehenfive, by the unruliens off that people, that whatever conform minifter come amongft them, his incouragement will be but fmall; and I had no will to imploy any, wher they might have fo litle fatisfaction. Att this junctur, it will be an ill time to recomend that relation off yours to be a Captane, for upon the takeing of 500 men off the recruits off my brothers regiment att fea, the King of France has broke ten companies off the regiment. Nixt winter will be more fitt, for then is the time he makes up any vacancies, and then you shall have all the affiftance I can give yow. I am forie to hear yow haue been fo ill off the Goutt. I intend to be fhortly in Glasgou, at which time yow shall fee your moft affec<sup>t</sup> friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

## 12. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

11 April [1677.]

SIR,

THER is no haft in your fpeaking to the Arch-Bifhope, and when yow gett his relation off that affair I fpoke of to yow, then hear iff he inclines to do me right wherin his informations had injurred me; it was I that fhuned liueing with him as formerly, which he wold willingly done, but till he do fome what to right me wher he has done me wrong, I incline not to itt, and I fear fo long as he has his de-

pendancie wher he has, ther is litle that way may be expected from him, or trusted to him, promis what he will ; but I know your discreation and friendship for me so much, that I leave itt to your management, and am very really, your affect friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

### 13. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

23 May, [1677.]

SIR,

AT my return from Anandale, I found yours of the 15 here ; my wife being to go to Glasgow this day will lett you know my thoughts as to the Chan. and the reason of the difference betuixt him and the Precedent, and what ar my conjectures of his sending up his son, and will impart to you all I know more, wherby you will find a litle time may produce severall revolutions. So honest men had need to be well and seriously advised ; and putting great confidence in you, I shall not doubt of your friendship and frie advise, which shall meet with all the returns of kindnes in the pouer of your affect friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

### 14. SIR JAMES TURNER'S " DISCOURSE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, THE 28 OF MAY 1677."

THERE is one fraiser who is prisoner at Dumbarton, as being accessorie to a manslaughter committed by one of his sonnes ; I had tuo letters from him desiring me to advise w<sup>t</sup> our Archbishop what might

be done for him, pretending innocence. I knew the Archbishop had kindnes for the man as being his old acquaintance, and therfor I layd hold on this occassion to goe to the castle last monday, where I found Orbiston and a sonne of Barns adviseing with him concerning the tryall of some witches ; there I found also our provost, and his bayliffs, two wherof runne out so soone as they saw me ; there was also Sir John Monkreiff, a cousine of the Marquesse of Athole ; I stayd till most of these were dispatched, and then enterd in a discourse w<sup>t</sup> the Archbishop concerning Frazer ; from that I fell to speake of a wrong was done to a friend of mine, a minister, by the B. of the Isles (wherin I beleieve he was assisted by both our Archbishops), and askd him if he had no vacant places in his oune Diocesse for that poore minister. He told me, he thoght for my sake he might accommode him in Anandaill ; bot that not being my errand, I askd him if there were no vacancies in Cliddaill ; he said, Differf was vacant, for one Hamilton, to whom it was offerd, wold not accept. I said, nor sould my friend come there w<sup>t</sup> my consent. He told me he had presented one Gallan to Lessimahego. I askd if all these were fallen *Jure devoluto* in his hand ; he said yes, bot he had not made use of his power till he wrote my lord duke, and got his anfuere, that he might present whom he pleasd. I told him he had done in that very modestlie ; and so haveing made a faire way to my intended discourse, I said, I wisht there had been no mistakes between the duke and him about other matters ; he anfuerd, he wisht the same. I prayd him to relate the matter to me, if he had the leisure : very willinglie, said he, and did it, to my best remembrance, in these or very neare the like tearms.

At London, said he, my lord duke was pleasd to give me a visite ;

where falling on the subject of indulgd ministers, he desired me to be favourable to them, as to men who contributed much to the peace of the country. I answered, that they might expect faire enough vantage from me, provided they did these things they were obligd to doe. My lord D. asked me what these things were: one, said I, is the keeping the 29 of May; he said, he thought that should be done. Another thing, said I, must be done by them, or they can expect no favour from me, and that is, to ordaine no young men or Expectants, which they too often practise, and that will perpetuate the schisme. The duke, said he, replied, how can yow or any other get helped? This, said he, I thought was strange language; but answered, that their were hopes, if men did their duetie, it might be got helped by time. This vpon the matter, said he, was all passed betueene vs on that heade. Not long after, said he, I had occasion to goe to D. Lauderdaill concerning my dispatch to Scotland, havinge allreadie kist the kings hand, without any resolution to tell him any thing had passed betueene D. Hamilton and me. There were some companie with him; but so soone as he saw me, he came with his accustomed addresse to me, and told me he had something to impart to me, and immediatlie tooke me to another roome, and told me there had beene a noble person with him, who had promised he should be a very great man, and the king a glorious prince, w<sup>t</sup> many other promises, if he wold procure the Indulgence in Scotland to be enlarged. I asked who that person was: he answered, my ladie Dutcheffe of Hamilton; and that her G. had beene very earnest w<sup>t</sup> him in the busienes. This vnexpected rencounter, said the Archbishop, made me apprehend the Duke of Hamiltons designe reached further then at first I was aware of, and therevpon told D. Lauderdaill

what had passd betueene D. Hamilton and me. D. Lauderdaleill bid me looke well to it, for the busines concernd me and all these of my order. I told him, said he, I could do no more in it then relate it to him, having taken my leave of the king. Yes, said D. Lauderdaleill, it will be fit you acquaint the English Bishops with the matter before you goe to Scotland. Nixt day, said he, D. Lauderdaleill and I dind w<sup>t</sup> the Archbishop of Canterburie at Lambeth, where were present the Bishops of London, Worcester and Rochester. After dinner, D. Lauderdaleill told the English Bishops, that he thought I had somthing to say to them; on which I related to them what I have told yow; and D. Lauderdaleill told them what had passd betueene the Dutcheffe of Hamilton and him. The English Bishops were of opinion, D. Hamilton might readilie propound the matter to the king, and therfor it were fit to preuent him, bot told me, I might goe to Scotland; and so, said he, I went away. I was told thereafter, said he, that the king spoke with D. Hamilton on the matter, and that the king told him, now I have it out of yo<sup>r</sup> oune mouth, that you are for enlarging the Indulgence, and for the presbiterians to give ordination. The Duke, said he, wrote a letter to me, to which I gave an answere, containing all I have now related to you; for I wrote to him I had said nothing of his G. to either D. Lauderdaleill or the English Bishops, bot what I wold give vnder my hand. And heere the Archbishop stopd.

I askd him, If D. Lauderdaleill had not told him what my ladie Dutcheffe of Hamilton said to him, wold he have told D. Lauderdaleill what D. Hamilton said to him; he protested he wold not, and could take God to witnes in it. Then I told him, that I was informed, D. Hamilton, in his Discourse with the king, had neither desired of his

Majestie an enlargment of the Indulgence, or libertie of ordination. Bot the king asking him what his opinion of the Indulgence was, he hielie magniefied that which was granted, as a thing that contributed much to the peace of the countrey where these Indulgd minifters preachd. And being askd by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, if he thought any greater Indulgence fould be granted, anfwered, He wold not take on him to tell his mind extemporarie ; bot that if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> wold call for others and afke their advice, he fould be readie faithfullie to tell his opinion. To all this the Archbishop replyed, That he was informed, D. Hamilton denyd that he gave the king advice to permit ordination by prefbiters, bot did not deny that he had adviced him for a larger Indulgence. I replyd, That I beleevd the Duke denyd both the one and the other, bot I wold not meddle in it. Then I told the Archbishop, that his revealing to D. Lauderdaill what had pafd betueene D. Hamilton and him, provd no good office to the Duke, becaufe on occafion therof, men had endeavord to poffeffe the king with thoughts that the Duke intended an alteration in church gouernment, which I beleevd never enterd into his thoughts. He anfuered, he was blameles of that ; he had represented no more bot what had reallie pafd betueene them. I replyd, I was forry it had fallen out fo vnluckilie in his hand, for I had never heard D. Hamilton fpeake to the prejudice of either him or his order ; nay, I have heard him fay, he wold never liue vnder that prefbyterian government which was in his younger years exercifd in Scotland. The Archbishop fubjoyned, that he had neuer entertaind any other bot honorable thoughts of my lord Duke ; and fo after ordinaire complements, we parted.

## 15. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

SIR,

1 Jun. [1677.]

I AM sorry you have taken so much pains to so little purpose, for I did apprehend it would be as is fallen out. However, I thanke you very heartely, and when it is in my power, your kindnes shall not be forgotte. I discover more of the designe has been in that business nor I knew before, by the relation the Arch B. gives of itt; for my wife spoke what he says my Ld Lauderdale told him at parting many weeks before, and what passed betwixt him and me was indeed but a few days before he parted; and after what past betwixt my wife and my Ld Lauderdale, we were in great civillities together, and many offers made, which was not accepted; whereupon it seems this ingine has been fallen on to incense the King, seeing him use me well; but till I see you I will not trouble you with a more full account of that affaire, and wherein the Arch B. relation differs with me; and for that end I must desire the seeing you here when I return from Ed<sup>s</sup>, where its like I may go from Kinneill the end of the next weeke. I had letters on Saturday that Duke Laud: would be down this month and by sea; other occurrences I have bid Smith give you, but little materiall yett: the Chancelors way is well enough understood by all sides, and time will clear his politiks. I am very really, Sir, your most affec<sup>t</sup> friend,

For Sir James Turner.

HAMILTON.

## 16. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

16 Jun. [1677.]

I WISH you had comed your self, for I confes I do not understand



your letter ; for how it can be expected I will appear in any publicke thing, confidering as I am ftated, w<sup>t</sup>out being called to it by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, who has thought it fitt for his service to lay me afide, is a thing fure in comon difcretion I ought not to do as a private perfon. I hope to cary my felf as becomes a good fubject, and no body fhall be more ready to pay Gen. Dalyell all civillity then your moft affec<sup>t</sup> friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For S<sup>r</sup> James Turner.

## 17. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S<sup>r</sup>,10 Sep<sup>br</sup> [1677.]

BEING juft going to my horfe for Kinneill, I have onely time to tell yow that I thinke yow may fend your letter wherof I return yow the copy ; for I fhall be very glade all honeft men may come in imployment, and fhall wifh yow good fucces in itt : onely I fhall tell yow that the Lyons place was to his fon as well as himfelf, fo that does not vaike ; and I hear the L<sup>t</sup>: Colls: place is intended for this young E. of Kellie, and that of the Caftle of Ed<sup>r</sup> to one Maitland, who is a Cap<sup>t</sup> in my brothers regiment, and was once D. L. padge, who is already fent for ; he onely to have the profite of the company, and the other revenew of the Caftle to go for D. L. ouen ufe. I thinke yow had beft examine thefe things, for I wold not have yow rafh in expofeing your defires. At my return, which will be the end of this weeke, I fhall be glade to fee yow, and then it is like yow may hear more from your moft affec<sup>t</sup> friend,

HAMILTON.

For S<sup>r</sup> James Turner.

## 18. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S<sup>r</sup>,

26 Oct. [1677.]

I THANKE yow for letting me hear from yow. The marching of the forces from Glasgow gives great occasion to people to conjecture what the matter can be, since wee can hear nothing extraordinar of the phanaticks motions, who can hardly I thinke be so mad as to de-finge any infurrection, and yett I thinke strange iff the Ministers of State be so allarumed w'out good ground ; however it makes the caice of private cuntrey men that intends to leave peaceably, pretty difficult what to resolve on in these feaming combustions and alarums. I wish your Arch B. may att last be a good instrument in the fetling off these differencis he says wold tend to the good off his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, that things may be fetled by a parliament ; but I fear he is not convinced so in his former errors as to proceed in that method, and sayed so to yow, onely knoueing the respect yow may have for some off those he mentioned. . . . any further off consequence come to your knowledge, I shall expect to hear from yow, as yow shall the like from me, being, S<sup>r</sup> your very reall and affec<sup>t</sup> friend,

HAMILTON.

## 19. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S<sup>r</sup>,

2 Jan', 78.

I THANKE yow for letting me hear what comes to your knowledge, but I am not much allarumed w<sup>t</sup> those stories of imprifionment, and I wish that wer the worst wer intended, then I hope our inocensie wold soon relieve us. I hear the Chancelor is gone to Fife last weeke, but the particulare occasion off it, or any thing els of consequence, I have

not heard since parting; so I have onely to add the renewed assurance of my being, S<sup>r</sup>, your most affect friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For S<sup>r</sup> James Turner.

20. FROM ANNE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

19 April, 78.

I THANK you hartely for y<sup>r</sup> kindnes exprest att this time, which is fuitable to many more obligations you haue put on me. I heard yesterday from my Lord; his letter was of the 11; he had not then seen his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but had kised the Duks hand, which was by an acedent; for that night he came he went to the Duke of Monmoth, and said he did not goe straght to the King as he y<sup>s</sup>ed to doe, becaufe he heard reports that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> would not allowe of his waiting on him, and therefore desired him to aske his Ma<sup>tie</sup>; but the D. Monmoth replied, he had spoken to the King alredy, and the King bid him tell my Lord he would not see him, while he knew what he had to say for his coming without ether his leaue or his counfells, who had made a proclamation to the contrary, but he would uerie quickly apoynt his Cabenet Counsell to heare him; and upon the Tufday the D. Monmoth tould my Lord to come to his lodging, and he would conduct where the counsell satt, which was to be the next day; and the King allowed my Lord to bring whom he thought fitt with him; so he touk my L. Cocheran, his brother and L<sup>t</sup> Generall Drumond. They went to see the Duches of Monmoth, and stay there while D. M. came to carry them to the place of metting, and there came the D. of Yorke; my Lord made him a low

bow, but did not goe forward while the Duke made a signe to him, and then he went and presented the rest to him. My Lord said, he looked on itt as a good omen, that they [had] seen his Highnes, and hoped he would be att the Cabenet Counsell; the D. said, he thought not to haue ben att itt, for seeing them while the King shold, but now he thought he might; however he was not thare. Those that weer was the Chanc. the Trefurer, Duke M. the Lord Chamberland, and the 2 Secretares. My Lord spok first, and then the rest, what things has ben don amongst us; but the thing they insisted most on was, why they had contemned the Kings authority in coming without leave, to which they thought they gaue satisfying reasons. As sone as they came out, the King went in, and D. M. came afterwards, and tould my Lord; His Ma<sup>ty</sup> seemed more fauorably inclined after they had made ther report of what they had said; but the King desired, for his better information, they would put in writing, which they needed not syne, and itt shold be returned them againe without been copyed; with all D. M. tould them, if they declined itt, there would be great advantage taken; so they were resoluving to doe itt, but you may judge what losse they ar att in wanting aduice of Lawers. This is the summe of what was wreten to me; only my Lord desires friends may not be discouraged, for he hopes all shall be well, and that his next may giue more ground to expect itt; but God be blessed, euen this is better then what we weer threatened with. As for the mutiny heere yesterday, I thought itt a uerie pleasant fight to see they trobled no body heere; but when on company was gone away with their coulers, the L<sup>t</sup> Coll. and Cap. L<sup>t</sup> rod after them, and ouer touk them at Jarefton wood; they capitulat the buffenes, for itt was to hardy a mater for to gentlemen to

force so many men back againe but by perswasions. L<sup>t</sup> Coll. had some men of his owne who weer prevailed on to returne with a drumer, the rest marched away with their cullers, and beating ther drum; while they weer at this, the other company in the toune went and forced their cullers out of the place they were in, and went their way, doeing rong to none, but beating ther comarods that were unwilling to goe with them; so when the comandars came in from on mutiny, they found a more displeasing on, for the company that went from this was the L<sup>t</sup> Coll. owne company, but itt was grown dark, and there was no following them. But I am tould itt will reflect on me and this place; I said I could not helpe that, but for my part I wishe all that comes may do so. I heare the regement will now gett leave to goe away; if they had done this soner, they might haue ben dismist soner; and if they had not, I beleve they shold haue stayerd as long as they could haue gotten any thing. I shalle trouble you no further, but if I heare better news, you shall share. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

## 21. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

22 Aprell, 5 acloke.

I received y<sup>rs</sup> within this houer. I haue not heard from my Lord since I wrott to you, so can giue you no further account then what you know. I doe beleue S<sup>r</sup> G. Lockhart will be att London before the Kings aduocat, who went with his Lady in coach to Yorke, and from thence is to goe in the stage coach. Sure Hatton has some other designe in coming to Glas. then what concernes the ordering the forces,

which itt seemes they haue a mind shall be continued on us as long as they can. I wonder att the great haft in bringing out the Needfdaill regement. I think fume concerned in that shire might haue ben expected would haue stayed for another comand before they had done itt ; but this is a time will discouer who ar friends in realety and who not. Amongst the number of the first I bid you hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

## 22. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

30 Aprell, —78.

I HAUE gott no letter from my friend since that you was acquainted with, 'as you shall when I heare againe ; but I am writen to from Ed<sup>r</sup> fume of those things you mentione ; but what concernes M. Atholl and E. Perth I doe not credeat ; and I hope more of there assertions ar according to the rest of there way, any thing that makes for them, which, when brought to the test, may have, as other things has had, contrary effectes. That the countrie is att present so much eased is a mercy we aught to be thankfull to God for, and fure our friends has ben no ill instrements in itt, and I trust shall still continue in there duty. By the last packett, D. L. receued a letter from the Arch B. G., showing how well he was receued by the King, and how takeing the naritive was with His Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Clergie of England, and how firmly the King was resolued to adheir to his Counsell heere, and to aproue of there proceedings, as all tending to his serues, and to discourtenance D. H., and that party whom yet he had not admitted to his prefence. You may beleue this letter is even worne out with reeding ;

yet I shall say no more but, for all this, they haue too parts of the feare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

23. [FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.]

HONERED SIR,

I HAUE receued y<sup>rs</sup> with the inclosed on you needed not haue returned; and that which I desired you should, was from no doubt of your cair in any thing wherein our friend is concerned. Since I begun to writt I have gott a return of what I wrott with y<sup>rs</sup>. He is werie fenceable of your kindnes, and has had his thoughts of what you propofed, but fees great defec . . . . . to be admitted acces and ordered backe . . . . . to aske leaue, will furely be denyed. He intends to be in Ed<sup>r</sup> to morow night, and hopes . . . . . day free. Laft post brought no confiderable news. I heare thofe in the weft that refufes the bond, or the enacting themfelves, intends to goe to Ed<sup>r</sup>, rather then be imprifoned thare; but itt faid they will begin with the moft confiderable firft, for which they have much reafon, for . . . . . has . . . . . itt like there will be fo many refufers as will doe more then fill there prifons. There is great deuefions amongft them, both in Counfell and Comitie. What God may and will bring out of all thefe diforderly courffes is only known to himfelfe, to whose determinations itt will be all our duties to fubmett. The inclofed is all I gott; fo hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

## 24. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 May, —78.

A LITTEL while after y<sup>r</sup> faruant went away, I receued letters from our friend of the 14 infant, which came by Mr Benerman. You will see by the inclosed in what condition our friends and selves ar in ; if you have any thing else to ad to what you have already wreten, lett me haue itt by to morow night. I hope a littell time shall produce better things, and for the present I am altogether of y<sup>r</sup> mind. So adieu.

Our friends duse not intend to the baiths, while they see a littell further, and heere what is friends opinion heere.

Mr George Maxwell was ariued, which lett P. A. know.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

## 25. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON

17 June, —78.

THERE needed no appollege for not seeing me, who am not apt to mistake friends who ar so reall as I believe you ar in your professions ; but I am fory y<sup>r</sup> abfence now should be from any indisposition, and wishes what has formerly ben a remedy may proue successfull still. I had letters Saterday . . . . . by S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Cun, and by the packett . . . . my lord of a later daitt ; they weer put in hope that the convention would be adjorned, and if it weer not; they weer resolved to kepe it, and I doe not heare but M. Atholl intends also to come notwithstanding of his Ladys jorny. I know no thing of L. G. D. beien in this



cuntrie, and beleues itt is att the fame raitt of truth that my Lord is said to be heere, which, if safely, I should have ben glad of, for his absence att this time is discouraging to fume. I wishe the D. of L. confidence in carying votts so clearly as 5 to on in the convention, may make him take no other course to bar members fitting ; but fume of there proceder giues ground to think they will fall on fume such way ; a lettell time will now discouer what is att present perplexing. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

#### 26. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

June 19, [1678.]

THIS day I haue gott letters from my Lord, dated 13, which day he touk jorny with E. Perthe and S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Cocheran, and says others takes post, only M. Atholl and E. Kincarne stays. My Lord thinks to be in Ed. on Saterdag ; but there is fume queston what way he should come, and I should be glad to haue y<sup>r</sup> aduice. I intend to goe to Ed<sup>r</sup> to morow, where, if your helth would permitt, you ar hartely wished for. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

#### 27. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 June, —78.

I OPENED y<sup>rs</sup> to A. T. and thereby receued y<sup>rs</sup>. I wishe y<sup>r</sup> aduices be followed concerning my friend, which I shall declare is my owne oppinion. I gott a letter this morning, which speakes that G. Deyell

fhould have gott my brothers regement. Beien fo neare goeing away, I haue not time to ade more, but M<sup>r</sup> Jo. B. will be with you to morow, and he will tell you more particularly my thoughts then att this time I can writt them. So hartely wifhing you your helthe, that your friends may have y<sup>r</sup> company. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgaw.

28. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

SIR,

I RECEAVED yo<sup>r</sup> laft from Ed<sup>r</sup>, wherin you gave me a full account of all pafd at yo<sup>r</sup> Convention of Eftates ; and indeed, when I feriouf-  
lie confider how things were layd and prepard, and how Duke Hamil-  
ton was with fome confiderable friends at London when that Conven-  
tion was called by his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and how the elections were carried, I  
can not bot fay, my lord Duke, by his prudent carriage, rather gained  
ground then loft any ; you will thinke fo, when you confider how  
many of thefe who had declard to be of his principles, had diferted him,  
and gone over to the other partie ; and of thefe who were afhamd to doe  
fo, how many rather mutterd then fpoke out their thoughts. I heard be-  
fore you wrote to me how the Duke had left Scotland, to feeke his health  
at the baths, where now I conceive he is ; bot yow tell me he intends  
to goe to London before he returne home. Yow tell me D. Lauderdaills  
animofitie againft him continues, and defires my thoughts of all thefe  
affaires, which I fhall give yow very freeilie, how wifely, judge yo<sup>r</sup> felfe.

I thinke my lord Duke of Hamilton hath the wolfe by the eares ;  
he dare neither bite nor let goe. If he goe not to court, his enemye

will tell the king, it is out of disrespect, and perhaps out of contempt or revenge, because reason of state sufferd not his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to let the Duke kisse his hand last summer. If he goe to Court, I am affrayd he may once more meet a visage de bois, the bed chamber doore shut vpon him. Bot of tuo evils the lesse must be chofen ; my lord, by his going to cast himselfe and his fortunes at the kings feet, vindicates his loyaltie to the world. If the king refuse to admit him to his presence with that affabilitie he honours some meaner persons, the Duke loofeth nothing ; for soveraigne princes must be gained by obsequiousnes, bot not by resentment. Yow aske me, if the Grand favourite continue to persecute the Duke of Hamilton, what shall the Duke doe ; I shall tell yow, thogh the stroke be mainlie and directlie intended against the Duke himselfe, yet by an oblique rebound it will give a sad blow to all that Illustrious family. For this reason, I humblie conceive the Duke should prefer his libertie to all other concernments, and rather hazard any thing then goe to prison. I apprehend no danger of that by the tender of his service to the king at Whitehall, so it be done before the fitting of the p<sup>l</sup>liament ; for his appearance at that nick will furnish Lawderdaill subject to represent to the king groundles feares, needles jealousies and apprehensions, well masked with seeming reasons of state. If my lord get a reall wellcome from the king, he knows then how to take vp his measures ; if it be bot a seeming and a complementall one, I wish he wold take it, and goe away with it ; for the most part of men will thinke his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is reallie kind to him, and this will doe no hurt ; besides, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will have the lesse jealousie of him, being he conceaves himselfe in favour.

Bot yo<sup>r</sup> great question is, if the Duke perceave that the king hath

no kindnes for him, bot by the furmises of his enemies entertaines jealousies of him, what he shall doe in that cace. I thinke he can doe but one of three, stay where he is in England, goe beyond seas, or come home to Scotland. I apprehend as yet no danger of any of the three. Bot he shall be a loser by doing any of the first tuo. If he goe beyond seas, first he must be maintaine thogh Inconnu; next the managment of his estate will sensiblie misse him; thirdlie, the Dutchesse will be disconsolate; fourthlie, these who stand yet for him (thogh they be fewer then they were) will fall off, and make their peace, or at least lag behind; lastlie, he diserts his oune and the countreys cause, and gives it for lost. I say still, if necessitie force him not to seeke shelter abroad, My lord Dukes stay in England (vnles he be in favour) will render him contemptible, the object of his enemies scorn, and will not save him from imprisonment, whenever it is designed or concluded. The third is onlie left, to come home, which I humbly thinke is the most honorable and safe of the three. Honorable, because he may live like himself at home, with these particular . . . . ents which arise from the pleasure he hath in his consort and children, and the conversation of these whose honor is so deare to them, that they will not bow their knee to Baall. Bot yow say the danger of imprisonment is still the same at home that it was, when the bond and lawborrous were prest, and the formidable hoste in the west. I grant yow it is so, bot the wit of man can not guard against all these euills and dangers that the wit of man can forsee. If the Duke, by his intelligence, (which I conceive is not impossible,) or by strong presumptions, see his incarceration be designed, he may make a step with good enough reasons over to Arran; he hath busines to doe

there ; he may anfuere all they have to fay againſt him by his proxies and Advocates ; bot if that helpe not, he may without much difficultie get from Arran to ſome other place of the world, and that is the laſt refuge, and ſould be keepd ſo in reſerve. I cannot fancie the eſtate can ſuffer by his retreate, though . . . make him fugitive, it is none of his ; and I am as ſure, his honor can ſuffer as litle, when armed malice and black revenge, (which know not to be limited by either juſtice, reaſon, law or conſcience,) impoſeth a neceſſitie on him to ſave himſelfe.

I ſaw the Earle of Arran at Paris, . . . . . came from his travels in Italie. I looke on him as a perſon of much honor, a ſmart young lord, and one who in time may prove a very reſenting enemy, which perhaps is, or may be apprehended by my lord Dukes enemies, which, peradventure, may prove a bit to reſtrain ſome of them from offering palpable injuries both to my lord Duke, or any of his familie. . . . I am afraid yow may aſke me, if miſchiefe be intended againſt both father and ſonne, not that E. Arran hath done any hurt, bot becauſe he may doe it, as it was ſaid of a Duke of Cleve, who hangd young men becauſe they might prove thieves ; and vpon this account, to ſave themſelves an after game, clap vp at one and the ſame time both the Duke and E. Arran ; what, I ſay, ſhall be done in that caſe ? Firſt, I ſay, that may be thought of time enough heerafter ; ſecondlie, I confeſſe, when I thinke of the ſad fate of an Earle of Douglas and his brother at the caſtle of Edenburgh, and of the lord Home and his brother in the minoritie of James the fifth, I ſould thinke the Duke and his ſonne, if they be in one countrey, they ſould be bot ſeldome in one houſe, till the coaſts be more cleare, and the weather looke fairer ; for the ones libertie may ſave the other from imprifonment. I could en-

large this, bot I have laid enough to one who can discant on this subject better then myfelfe. Expect no news from me bot what the gazets brings yow ; whether Spaine and Holland will make peace with us heere in france or not, a litle time will discover. I pray God keepe yow.

from Havre de Grace,

11 7bris, 78.

29. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

4 Nov. —78.

YOUR continued respects I receue with the fence I aught, and am altogether of your oppinion, which I beleue my Lord is now of also ; for in his last letter he forbids me to writt more to him. I did desire James should have come home before this ; but his father intending to come, thought fittest not to send him, but to bring him along with himfelfe. He writts no news to me, but I heard from Ed. what you sent me, except the taking of the too last in the list, and that the Marq: Montros is to mary with the blood royall, I heard not ; it seemes this plot has ben of a long contriueance. I pray God discover all trateres, and then I am confedent we shall haue better days. So hartely farwell. My feruis to your Lady.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

30. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Hamilton 10 Febr<sup>y</sup> 1679.

MR SMITH did leave these books with a manuscript with me, but

forbad me to fend them till he wrot from Ed<sup>r</sup> to me, which he hes never yet done; but, since you seem to need them, receive them from the bearer. I have no newes but what are none to yow, that is, touching the tuo Brothers Regiments, and themselves, to come in place of E. Linlithgow and E. Marr their Reg<sup>ts</sup>. I have nothing of certainty; but only it is someq<sup>t</sup> probable, if it be not stopt by the Councell. Whether my Lord be yet come off or not, we cannot tell, but we expect to hear to-morrow or Wednesday; but her Grace thinks he may be on his journey, for her last letters bore his resolution of coming o . . . . . instant. E. Kincarden comes with him. I . . . . . the condition that becomes me as, Right Worshipfull, your most obliged, faithfull, humble serv<sup>t</sup>

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

### 31. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S<sup>R</sup>,

4 March [1679.]

I AM very fory to hear of your indisposition, and wishes yow your health with all my heart, and shall be glade to see yow here so soon as yow are able. I do regraite the hard measure the Bishop of Ed<sup>r</sup> meets with as much as any; and I beleive all the concernment that S<sup>t</sup> Andrews has for it is the preprative; but I will say no more till meeting, who am, S<sup>r</sup>, your affect friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

## 32. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

Hamilton March 4 1679.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I DELIVERED yours to his Grace ; you have my Lords answer inclosed. I have never yet had one syllable from Mr Smith ordering the delivery of your papers ; but I am glade they came safe to your hands, and that I sent them that day with your man. We have some rumours here, not without probable grounds, of their Grace going for England in May, or about that time ; for other newes I know none. I am very much grieved to hear of your being ill ; I pray God send you health, and it shall be desired by none with more ardor then, Right Worshipfull, your most obliged faithfull humble serv<sup>t</sup>

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

## 33. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

5 Feb<sup>r</sup> [1680.]

I RECEIVED yours, and thanks you kindly for the trouble you have been at in speaking to the Principall and Regents concerning my sons, to whom I thought it unnecessary to write to, since I am resolved to be there myself w<sup>i</sup>n a little after the Duke goes from this, who waits onely now for the yaghts ; for I intend to go from this to Kinneell, and . . . Glasgow to Hamilton. I am sorry your owen affaire had no better success, but I confes I expected no better for you, as affairs still continue ;



when I can contribute any thing to your advantage, you may be assured of the indevores of your most affect friend & servant,

HAMILTON.

34. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 14. Jan<sup>y</sup> 1682.

I HAVE juft now received ane order from the General for fending Captaine Stewarts troupe of Dragouns to Dounce, wher they are to quarter; I fhall therefore defyre ye will order them to march from ther prefent quarters, on Munday the fixteine instant, to the toune of Dounce, wher they are to quarter till further order. I doubt not but ye have heard of the late infollence committed in the toune of Lenerk one Wednesday laft. Be pleafd to caufe difpatch the inclofeit to the Generall by a dragoune foe soon as is poffible. Since thes Rebells are begining to appear oppenly againe, I defyre ye will caufe yo<sup>r</sup> Dragouns be in as good a readynes as is poffible; and I think it wer not amifs to fend fome tomorrow the length of Lenerk, to know the certainty of this. Sir, I am yo<sup>r</sup> most humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Thefe.

35. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Glasgow the 22 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1682.

I SEND you heare a nott of the names of fome of thes who are faid to haue been at the late buffines at Lenerk. I defyre, therefore, that ye

will fend a partie of Dragouns to aprehend them if it be possible. I ame told that your Livtenant knows most of them who lives in the paroch of Cather. This list was sent me from Lenerk by Major Whyt; whoe adds, that at parting he receaved exprefs comand from his Royall Highnes to keepe corespondence with me for that effect. I hope ye will order fwch perfons to goe wpon this partie as will be fitteft; and whoe, by ther deligence, will inable ws to give a good account of our care and conferne for the Kings service. I wold have the partie to goe to the places first which are nearest to this, and I wish them good succes. I am yo<sup>r</sup> most humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, These.

[*On a slip enclosed in the Original.*]

Grays of Crystie, in the paroch of Cather, about five mylls from Glasgou.

John Rwfiall of east feild,

George Hill in Cather crooks,

Wathell in Midowbuckle,

} thes 3 lives in the new paroch of Munklan.

John Wathell in Badfhaw of Lauchope.

Gavine Hamiltone, whos mother lived latly wnder the Laird of Dalzell, at the Baronshall, near to the Kirk of Dalzell.

### 36. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 26 Jan<sup>r</sup>. 1682.

I THINKE it no great wonder that two troupes should be soe ill accommedat in the toune of Lenerk, when I remember what deficulty

we hade to gett intertainment for a much fewer number when I was laft ther ; but it feems they have order to mew themselves within the narrow confyns of that pitifull litle place, ells I cannot beleive they wold willingly reduce themselves to fuch ftraits, as innevitably they moft undergoe, if the hors and dragouns fall not be allowed to qwar-ter in the countrie about. Major Whit never fignified any thing of ther deftres, foe that I was altogether ignorant of it till I hade it from yow. I remember the Generall fhew me that he did apprehend ther was a defigne that Claveres fhould come waft, but I found him very avers to it. As for Lieutenant Lawders informatione anent James Gray, I fhall fay nothing of it till I returne to Glasgowe ; ffor the things taken from the Rebels, I mak not the leaft doubt of ther being prys. And I think it but a small gratification to give the ferjeant that litle mear, in confideratione of his los. I doe fupofs that both Rufsall and Hamiltone wer declared fwgitives by the Circwit court which satt laft at Glasgowe. Against Munday, I fhall give yow a mor certaine account, haveing sent to Edinburgh this laft week for the letters of denunciatione. I am yo<sup>r</sup> moft humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

### 37. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 10 of ffeb<sup>r</sup> 1682.

I HAVE received the bound which ye sent me for thes two prifoners apeirance ; I have lykewyse this day taken bound for the four prifoners browght in from Lochenoch ; for when I had examined that matter as strickly as I could (heir in the country,) I could find no ground for

apprehending of them ; foe that I beleive the charactor ye give of the comander of that pairty is jwft enowgh. If mafter Kenavay reftore not thes two horfes, which he has no pretence to keep, I think the pairtie owght to be recalled. I fent yow home yefterday two of yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns who wer of M<sup>r</sup> Kenavays pairtie ; I know not give they came to yow, but this was the occafione. They hade qwartered wpon fome perfons in Ranfrew, by ane order from the provoft, becaufe the perfones hade refused to pay a fubfidie impofed by the provoft in ane arbitrary way, without the leaft forme or collor either of law or juftice, wpon which I commanded them back to ther qvarters ; and really this ought not to pas wnpunifhed, for it will oppen the mouthes of difafected people to fay, ther is nothing intended but ane arbitrary gowernment, then which, I am fure, nothing is mor fals ; one of the two whoe was qwartering at Ranfrew, his name is John Ros, a perfone whofe late mifcarriages in Captaine Hay his company might hawe tawght him mor circomfpectione. I fhall not be ane ill instrument with the Archbifhope to doe any fawor he thinks fitt, tho few of thes gentlemen have deferved it at his hands. I defyre ye will order one of yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns to cary the inclofed to the Generall, and to delyver the other to the Juftice-clarke. I am yo<sup>r</sup> moft humble fervant,

To Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

### 38. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 16 day of feb<sup>r</sup> 82.

I BELEIVE the badnes of the way was the caufe yo<sup>r</sup> dragoune returned not fooner. The Generall gave me nottice that he wold recall

mafter Kanavays partie, befyds which, he fignified nothing ells to me, exept a comand from the Duke to come in, if it wer poffible for me ; which indeid at prefent it is not. As for Muray, yo<sup>r</sup> other dragoune, I am fatisfied he be pardoned. I have given two letters to the bearer, the one to the Generall, and the other to the Treafurer-deput. I defyre ye wold fend them eaft with one of yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns, whoe will be carefwll to delyver them. I am, yo<sup>r</sup> moft humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

### 39. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 6 day of March 82.

JOHN CRIGHTONE, my enfigne, cane testifie and fhow it vnder my hand to him, q<sup>u</sup>in I told him that I was fure ye did not know that fellow did belong to me when ye ingadged him, foe far I was from intertaineing any mifaprehenfions of yow therein ; nor indeid cane I expect any thing of that nature from any body conferved for the Dutch officers, feing I wold willingly doe every thing that might oblidge any of them, and particularrly Captaine Dalyell. As for that fellow Blackburne, the reafone why I putt him in prifone was, becaufe he declaired he could ferve no longer in my company ; and I am fure, wer he at liberty, he wold run away befor to morrow, and that is the reafone why I ftill detaine him ther. I am yo<sup>r</sup> moft humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

## 40. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 8 March 1682.

I HAVE received a letter from the Generall, daited one munday, wherein he shows me his Royall highnes gave order that all the foott at Lenerk should come to Glasgou ; and I have accordingly sent order to Glasgou for taking wpe quarters for all the four companyes. Capitaine Hay will give yow a letter directed to Major Whit, q<sup>ch</sup> I had dispatched before I received yo<sup>r</sup> ; when it comes to yo<sup>r</sup> hands, I defyre ye will cause send it to Lenerk. As for that fellow ye wreat of, I hope ye will excuse me when I tell yow that I have refused him to my brother-in-law, Capitaine Ramfey. Sir, I am yo<sup>r</sup> most humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

## 41. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 11 March 1682.

IT was folly the consideratione of yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns advantage which made me soe wnwilling to remove them out of the paroch of Govan ; for I know not that place in this country wher either they cane ly soe contiguous, ore be soe well provyded in horfs meat, which is a great consideratione this scairs year ; and, in my oppinione, the first is noe less at such a tyme, qwhen the barbarous rebels are cnocking doune thos who serue the king in every corner ; but since ye are soe defyrous to haw yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns removed, I am satisfied that ye quarter them in the

paroches of Cathcart, Carmanock, and Rutherglen. I am unwilling to qwarter wpon the barronrie, the Archbifhope being from home ; but I think they wold hawe been better qwartered in the paroch of Eaſter Kilpatrick, and places ajacant, then wher they are goeing, becauſe noe body hath been qwartered ther of a longe tyme. I am yo<sup>r</sup> moſt humble ſervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Theſ.

## 42. FROM JAMES EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 21 1682.

I HAVE been ſoe often oblidge to yow that I have noe reaſon to dout of your affection, and aſſiſtance to what relaits to my concernes, which makes me croſſe yow with this franckneſſe ; for tho I know yow hav had ſeverall officers meaking recrutes amongeſt yow alreadie, and ſoe it will be the hearder talk now ; yet, for old aqwantance ſaik, I will deſir your aſſiſtance for ſome men that I ame leavieng for my oun particular. I intend to be with yow upon thurſday, but thought my giving yow this advertiſment could doe [no] hurt, ſince at the ſaim tyme it is to aſſure yow, that I ame your faithfull freind and ſervant,

For Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

ARAN.

## 43. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 22 1682.

I HAVE juſt now received yours, and am aſhaimed I did not thank yow yeſterday for the letter I had at my arrivall. I ame forie that

yow are indisposed, but I thank God I ame not, and as longe as I have health, I think it is the best tyme I can emploie to visit my freinds ; foe I shall not faill fieng yow, and assur yow that I ame your affectionat freind and fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgou.

#### 44. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 25 March 1682.

I AM of yo<sup>r</sup> opinione, that Orbestoune might haw satisfied himself with apprehending such of his oune tenants as wer gultie of the late rebellion, and yet this discowerie wold hawe done better had it been made a twelve moneth agoe ; which certainly I think might hawe been done as well then as now. Ther is noe body, I am certaine, less ambitious of command then my self. But yow may remember what orders the Generall was pleased to lay wpon me before yo<sup>r</sup> self ; and therfor, wneles I know how they are disposed, I cane give him noe account of my deligence : And wpon the other hand, ye know I was always ready to comply with every motion ye were pleased to make relateing to yo<sup>r</sup> dragouns : Soe that I am sure my comands could not be wery burthenfome. In the meine tyme, I doe asure yow I shall be farr from taking nottice of what is past, our great buffines being to serve the King faithfully, and not to scrow wpe our animosities and peiks one against another. I am, Sir, yo<sup>r</sup> most humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

ROSSE.



## 45. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 27 1682.

I HAVE had yours, and since my last one from Orbistoun, wherine he seames mightilie surprized with my sever letter ; for he tells me ther is not one of thos men that he had seazed on that he could not prove such crimes againest them, and espetialie that man of My Lord Dundonalds, who, he sayes, was til of lait one of his own tenantes, and that most of thes he took wer most of them rogges that lived under himself, and that he would meak out such thinges against them, that they would willinglie goe anie where reather then byde the sen- cure of the law. His beinge soe possitive, has hindred me from writting to my Lord Dundonald, till I spiek with him self, who I expect heer this night, and yow shall be enformed of what passeth. He tels me too ther wer two men that Houston had given me, and one that Bishop- toun had done the like with, and your fergant had fett all at libertie. I hope Orbistoun will wait upon yow, and give yow a particular ac- count himself, of the reasones why he took thos men ; at lieast if he dont doe itt as he comes upp, I shall meak him wait one yow when he comes from hence, and when you are togither you cane agrie what is best to bee done. I dont think it fitt for me to writt to the Generall till wee see what is represtented, and then I shall not fail to doe what you shall think most convenient. I hear ther is one Thomas Kenn- way, that rides in the gward, that goes upp and down thes countries about Glasgou, to find out thos that has been accefforie or actualie in the last rebellions. I beleive if he be dealt with, he may furnish some

men easilie, which I begge yow would doe if he be off your acqwantage. I heare ther are just now some men arrived from Glasgou, which meakes me stop my letter till I know what they are, that I may give yow ane account of them now. My Major is come in, and has brought 13 men alongest with him. I have noe more to adde, but that I hope in a litle tyme I may, in spytt of ill fortune, meak upp the number I proposse to my self. I am your faithfull humble servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

46. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 28 1682.

I BEGGE yow a thousand pardons for detaining your servant soe long, but just as I received yours, I was getting a horsback to taik the aire, which has hindred my writting till now. I find Orbistoun continewes to say, that thos men he had taiken, he could prove against all of them, that they wer in the lait rebellion, ore what would come within the acte of Parliament, which reaches the securing of vagabons and villans; and he sayes ther wer 12 of thos men his own, and that I might be feur he would not, for his own saik, secure anie men but thos that he might be warranted to doe by law, and that the assistance he had from yow was what he hopes yow wont be questioned for, when he comes to be examined what men they were he had seized upon; and since he came heer, I see he has bein thraitned, by som of thos men that wer sett at libertie, to have his hous burnt, as the Laird of Barochan, who was accidentily with him when he was upon that expedi-

tion, has had his hous, as I ame informed. For all this I intend to writt to my Lord Dundonald tomorrow, and follow anie thing yow think fitt to adviffe me, which is all I have to adde at present, but that I ame your faithfull humble fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

#### 47. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 29 1682.

I AME forie yow shoud haue given yourself the trouble of sending your fergant or your corporall, since yow may be seur what ever yow say is of more weght with me then that yow nead have taiken this paines of convincing mee. Yow know I ame ignorant of what are the concernes of thos men but as I ame informed, and for my pairt, I will look noe more after them; I wish I had neaver meddeled with anie of them, since yow rune anie risque to be blained for what yow have done; tho I ame confident, when yow are heard, you'l meet with a very gentill reprooff, if anie. I shall not fail to writt to my Lord Dundonald, and tell him that he might be assured what ever man of his had been offred me, I would neaver have accepted him if he did not think it fitting, and that I ame forrie Orbistoun had seazed on any of his tenants. Orbistoun tells me that he is resolved to seaze on thos that are his oun men, againe to bring them to justice; tho for my pairt I caire for none of them, since it has maid such a clamour in the contrie, which does my leavies ten tymes more hurt then tuice the number of men could doe me good. I ame forie yow euse the exprefion of being baiten with double rodes. Yow may be seur, as to what

relaits to my pairt, I ame not capable of thinking yow are in the leaft in the wrong, and I hope thos yow nead to cair for will be off my opinion ; but I think y<sup>e</sup> beft will be to let the thing fall to y<sup>e</sup> ground. I have had three or four voluntires from Ruglen, and I have ingaged one man more, who received my monie voluntarlie, and now refufes to goe ; I think ther can be noe hurt in taiking fuch a man as that. His naime is John Fairey. I fent down one that took one with me to fee if he could gett anie of his comerades ; foe this John Faire received my earneft from the handes of one David Scott, befor feveral wittneffes, but now refufes to goe ; foe if yow dont think it [may] bring yow into new trowble, I fhould defir yow would caus fome of thos of your dragowns that ftay in the place bring him to me. I have noe more to add tq this, but that I ame your faithfull humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner.

ARAN.

#### 48. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Saturday, 4 aclock.

I HAVE juft now had yours, but I am informed that that Fairie which was taiken one by David Scott, is a luftie young fellow, and that he who yow talk of is a younger brother ; how ever, I fhall doe what yow will advis me, but I had foe manie that have taikin my monie and cheated me, that I ame loth to truft anie more. Ther is one George Baxter too in Ruglen, who I have bein extraordinary kind too. He came a voluntir, and upon that account I was much kinder then to y<sup>e</sup> others ; but now he has taiken my monie thes 8 or ten dayes, and abfents him felf ; foe if under the pretext of fhairching for the

other, they can fall upon him, I shall think it is a good chainge. To  
 sho how litle I presse people, ther came hither a boye to taik one, and  
 nixt day his maister came from Glasgou to tell me he was his apprentiffe,  
 and had rune away upon some debait that aroffe betuixt him and some  
 of his other servants; immediatly I restored the young man, and told  
 him I would protect noe bodies servants against ther maisters. I had  
 severall officers with me yesterday, but Cap: Inis was not amongst  
 them, nor did I gett soe much as one man. I have now one Captan  
 Cuningame with yow, and if anie of my friends have any resolutions  
 of letting me have anie more men, I should be glad they would send  
 them upp with him. I should be glad to know what I might hope  
 for. I am joust now goeing out to meet my father, who, wee fancie  
 will be heer this night. I have so bad a pen, and am in so much haist,  
 that I belive you'l heardlie be aible to reed this. I am your faithful  
 freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

#### 49. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

Lieth 11 April [1682.]

THE dragoene who you have been plaesed to sent with a letter, tell-  
 ing me ther is fix men by the way for my Lord Arans regiment, came  
 to me this morning. It is onpoffible for me to meet the men my self,  
 but schall send an officer, in regard we ar to part to morro, and I have  
 saeveral bufines. In the maen tyme I schal not fael to acquent my  
 Lord Aran of your kyndnes, and remain your most humble servant,

For Major Turnare att Glasgoue Thes. T. LEVINGSTONE.

## 50. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

SINCE my laft your dragouns did come heer, bringing along with them fyve men ; as for that gentelman Robifone, I fchal not fael to recomend him to my Lord Aran, and for my particular, any kyndnes I ame capabel he fchal difpofe of. In the maen tyme, if you plaefe lye any comands opon me to the plaefe wheer I ame going, ther fchal bee no man moor reddi to fcho hoe much I ame your moft humble and obedient fervent,

T. LEVINGSTONE.

For Major Turner at Glasco.

## 51. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 13 Aprill 1682.

I AM really foe wndespofed ftill that I am not able to goe about bufines as formerly ; therefore, (till it pleas God) that I recover my health, I fhall defyre that ye will qwarter yo<sup>r</sup> dragounes in the moft convenient pleafes ye think fitt, which I fhall aprow off ; I defyre lykwyfe ye will wreat to Captaine Inglish, and fhew him that I have ane order from the Generall to call ane counfell of warr betwixt his Enfigne Lewies Lawder and ane tenant of the Earle of Lowdons ; if Lawder find himfelf in the wronge, I wifh he may take fome cours to take it away, and I fhall give him all the tyme I can pofibly for doeing of it. In the meine tyme I wifh he would fend me a trew acount of the wholl affaire. I am fory to heir that yo<sup>r</sup> gutt hath twrned from ill to wors ;

fo foone as I am able I hope to fee yow. I am your most humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner.

ROSSE.

52. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 15 Aprill 1682.

I AM very glade that Ensigne Lawder is come wpe to Glasgou ; I am very defyrours to speake with him ; if ye thinke fitt to send him hither, wpone Munday about two a clock in the afternoone, ore any other of the dragouns whoe wer confened in that affaie, for I am very defyrours to doe them all the right I cane. I wish they may make the bufines as clear as is pofible ; which, efter I hawe fpoken with them, I will endeavo' to airt them as right (to mak ther oune pairt faire) as I can, for I am a litle confened to haw them com hanfomly off in that, if it be pofible. Loudounes officer, called Campbell, was with me, defyryng a continvacione of the counfell of warr till the eighteine of May, which I made him give me wnder his hand as his oune defyre, but I gave him no affurance to delay it for ane hour. Now, if Ensigne Lawder find it more convenient to continowe it till that dyet, ore to hawe it cald mor fumarly, I cane doe either of them he finds most convenient.

Since I am to speake with the perfons whoe wer actors in that bufines, I will certainly receave a more clear informatione from them then Captaine Inglish is able to wreat ; and therefor I haw returned yow back his letter. Sir, I am your most humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner These.

ROSSE.

## 53. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. Ap: 19 1682.

I HAD yours of the 18 this morning, and has spoken to Orbistoun about that man Longe. He has promised me to talk to the father, who he sayes he can governe as he pleases; and more then that, if the son should insist, he can meak out such things against him that will taik his life if he should persew him, ore in the least revive this affaire. I have had noe letters yett from E<sup>d</sup>. so can tell you nothing about the men, onlie I desir you would taik one noe more, nor put your self to further trouble, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

## 54. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.

MY NOBLE LORD,

21st April 1682.

I SHALL waite vpon yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup> direction concerning these men I levied for y<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup>, and shall meddle no more, hoping yow will need no more; and if the French king be well naturd, it is probable the Estates of the Vnited Provinces will be more readie to disband then raise more forces. I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup> let me know if I shall take these drops with cherrie sacke in the morning, and how long I shall fast after. Bot the maine errand of this letter is to show yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup>, that the other day I was told by a friende, that it is certaine that the Deane of Glasgou, now minifter at Hamilton, did of himsele, without any previous desire of



the Archbishop, promise to him not to nominate Doctor Birfbine or Mr William Blaire to be his assessors when he was rector ; and yet, notwithstanding his promise, nominated them both. I am sorry one who had the generall reputation of an honest man, should have done any thing like a prevarication ; but that which troubled me most was, that it is said, your lo<sup>p</sup> invited and prompted the Deane to doe so. Your lo<sup>p</sup> knows what yow owe to that order re-established by law, which yow know his Ma<sup>tie</sup> owes so much, nor needs any man tell yow what respect is due to an Archbishop whom his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath made the third person of this kingdom, whose authoritie was trampled on by the more than magisteriall masters of our universitie, particularlie these two I just now mentioned ; and I thinke not onlie the Episcopall order, but the royall power, was wounded through his sides. How much it may concerne yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup> to reverence that function, and these who are in it, no bodie needs informe the Earle of Arran. And for these two men, I beleeve yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup> had reason to expect more service to your selfe and noble familie from 2 lackeys, than from them both. However, the Deane hath demitted, and Mr Waddell is chosen Rector, who hath nominated none of these two gentlemen to be his assessors. I am sorry to learn that the phisitians have yesterday told my Lord Rofs; that the malignitie of his maladie is above their cure, though not their skill. I am, etc.

Gorbells, 21 Aprile, at night.

## 55. FROM WILLIAM MASTER OF ROSS.

SIR,

Halkhead April 25.

I RECEIVED yours, and according to your comands delivered the inclosed to my father, who begs your pardon he was not able to writ to you, but orders me to shew you he is very uel satisfied with what the general writs to you; he is extraordinarily much better than he was some days befor this and I hop is nou in the way of recovery.

I am, Sir, your most humble fervant,

W. ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner.

## 56. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Thursfday y<sup>e</sup> 4 of May 7 at night

SINCE the last tyme I troubled yow, I have received a letter from Collo: Douglas, telling that he will receive my men; his ship is lieng in Leith Road. I told him I had twelve men, for I thought Orbifton had had eight. He desired I may caus imbark 6 men in John Burnfydes ship, and 6 in Robert Dumbars; they are both leing together. I had a letter yesterday from Orbifton, telling me he would deliver what men he had to Cap. Douglas, who had promised to caus convoy them to the shoar. I wish yow would enquir what men he has received, and lett me know ther names, together with the 4 yow have, and the 2 my Lo: Semple promised mee. Collo: Douglas tells me the people are verie rude to the officers that embark the men, so desires me to gett some discret man to taik caire of thos that are sent; but I think yow may

talk with Cap: Douglas, and send the men with thos Orbiston has delivered to him. I'l swar I ame so ashaamed to eusse this freedom with yow, that wer itt not that I know you'l forgive me, I should neaver have eused yow with this freedom. I had letters by the last post that tels me the Duk was then resolved to com off one the 5, which, if the nixt post confirmes, I wil imediatly goe to Ed<sup>r</sup>; but, as yett, I have taiken noe other resolution. So I ame your faithfull freind and servant,

ARRAN.

57. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. May 6 1682.

I HAVE just now had yours, and imediately begune my letter, that your servant may be with yow in all haifte. I confesse I ame mor and more amaized at Orbistouns cariadge. I think Cap: Douglas is extreamlie in the right; nor did I my self ever understand that he should be putt to further trouble, than when they were brought to him, to help them forward with a gwaird, which Orbistoun writt to mee he had ingaged to doe, since he was to send in some men however to Coll: Douglas, for his eusse; so I thought it would be all one trouble to carie in a few more, which maid me think of troubling Cap: Douglas. I am afrayed, if the wind comes butt a litle more futhward, the shipes will be sayled befor the men gett thither; however, it is but venturing the jurnie. I doe heer send yow a letter to the masters of the two shipes, according to your desir, to receave what men Duncan Grant delivers for my eusse; but I wishe they may be put aboard Collo: Douglas, tho I dont know particularlie which is his; and so soon as I

hear that y<sup>e</sup> men are dispatched, I shall writt to Collo: Douglas. I wish I knew the possitive number, for if they be but 7, I think it wer best to fend them aboard Douglas ship; but becaus I told him in my last I had a duzen of men, he desired I might fend 6 aboard Lif: Collo: Buchan, and the other 6 aboard his ship; but if ther be but one mor then the half, I think it best not to seperat them. I hope yow have not given my aquittance to Baxters wife, since she tels so foolish a storie for her husband, and I meak noe dout to gett him mead wearie of his life heer. But since the town of Ruglen ingaged to furnish that man, I don't see why they should not meak good ther word. I doe assure yow, if I had thought you had had so bad a memorie, I had neaver put yow to this trouble; but I thought in comoradship one might be assistant to ane other upon such occasions as this, but not at the raite yow have eised me, for it has put yow to too much trouble, and more coaft then is fitt to meak a compliment off; which is all at present from your faithfull friend and servant,

ARAN.

58. FROM THE LORD SEMPILL.

S<sup>R</sup>,

Castle Sempill, May 6th 1682.

I RECD yo<sup>r</sup>, and as to those men concerning which yow writ, I kept them soe longe untill I did despair of yo<sup>r</sup> sending for them, while att length there freinds gave boand and caution for them, and now they are att there liberty, for that it can hardly bee expected that they will promise willingness to goe, which is all at present from, S<sup>r</sup>, yo<sup>r</sup> very humble servant,

SEMPILL.

For S<sup>r</sup> James Turner

att Gorbells These.

## 59. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 11 1682.

I HAVE bein in such a hurrie ever since I came, that I could not dispathe your dragoun sooner, which I hope yow will pardon. I was in good hopes to have found yow heer at my arivall yesterday. I think of goeing allong with the Duk, or to follow him verie suddenie, the Duk goes from hence on Monday or tuesday, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

## 60. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 19 1682.

I HAD yours yesterday, and was extreamlie surprized when yow told me what yow apprehended was like to befall yow. I assure yow, without meaking anie kind of compliment, I am soe much concerned in whatever relates to yow, that yow may assure yourself that I will follow anie method yow can propose to doe yow service; but till what yow told me yourself, I had never heard anie thing of itt, nor could I almost believe it when yow wrott itt. I think yett such measures may be taken that yow will hear noe more of it neather; for according to that skeme that was proposed, and some other changes to attend itt, I heer nothing is like to follow. I goe over to Fife to morrow, and shall be back again the middle of the next week, and then I intend to begin my jurnie for London; soe if yow have anie commandes for me, I should be glad to have them by that tyme. You may be assured of all the freindship my father can show yow, and intirly command your most assured freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

## 61. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Friday, past 7 in the afternoon.

I HAVE just now had that which yow wrott at twelve, and ame extreamlie oblidged to yow for the inclosed yow sent me, but I find I have most of them in my listes. I ame affraiyed they are all fled since I came into this contrie, for I ame a great bogle amongest them. I think yow took the best courffe in putting them in to Glasgou tobuth, and I meak noe dout, when the Generall knowes they are people that are disturberes of the peace of the contrie, tho it would be heard to meak out particulars against them, yett ther being sent off the contrie I think were noe ill service both to the King and the Governement. I hope my Lord Rossie will be of the faime oppinion. I ame seur nothing in the world could afflict me more then that yow should in the lieft be found fault with upon my account, but I hope yow are in noe danger; but now I must begge to know how I shall bestur my self to gett thos men that are in the tolbut, and the others that the other pairtie will bring alongest with them. I intend both Orbistown and my Major shall come and wait one yow to ask your advice, and I hope yow will spur the officers, that gave me a great mainie fair promisses last night to be as good as ther wordes. I shall add noe more, but impatiently expect what will be the event [of] our endeavours, and assure yow that I ame extreamlie sensible of your kindnesse, and shall ever be your faithful friend and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

---













